

Cultural policy
in **Yugoslavia.**

Stevan Majstorović

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Preface

The purpose of this series is to show how cultural policies are planned and implemented in various Member States.

As cultures differ, so does the approach to them; it is for each Member State to determine its cultural policy and methods according to its own conception of culture, its socio-economic system, political ideology and technological development. However, the methods of cultural policy (like those of general development policy) have certain common problems; these are largely institutional, administrative and financial in nature, and the need has increasingly been stressed for exchanging experiences and information about them. This series, each issue of which follows as far as possible a similar pattern so as to make comparison easier, is mainly concerned with these technical aspects of cultural policy.

In general, the studies deal with the principles and methods of cultural policy, the evaluation of cultural needs, administrative structures and management, planning and financing, the organization of resources, legislation, budgeting, public and private institutions, cultural content in education, cultural autonomy and decentralization, the training of personnel, institutional infrastructures for meeting specific cultural needs, the safeguarding of the cultural heritage, institutions for the dissemination of the arts, international cultural co-operation and other related subjects.

The studies, which cover countries belonging to differing social and economic systems, geographical areas and levels of development, present therefore a wide variety of approaches and methods in cultural policy. Taken as a whole, they can provide guidelines to countries which have yet to establish cultural policies, while all countries, especially those seeking new formulations of such policies, can profit by the experience already gained.

This study was prepared for Unesco by Stevan Majstorovic, Director of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Development of S.R. Serbia.

The opinions expressed are the author's and do not necessarily reflect the views of Unesco.

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Foreword

All the methodological and other difficulties encountered by the authors of cultural policy studies in other countries were repeated in this case, too. One of the major difficulties, though a technical one, was the comparatively narrow limit set by Unesco. There were several reasons, however, that prompted a different approach in this case. In the first place Yugoslavia is a multinational country with a federal system and a notable degree of decentralization. Although the general principles are the same, actual practice and experience in the organization of cultural activity differ from republic to republic. A motley cultural pattern and diversity of cultural tradition is characteristic of Yugoslavia and necessarily plays an important part in the framing of cultural policies. Any study which ignored these considerations would be incomplete and fail to explain the motives underlying the individual practical solutions adopted. Last, Yugoslavia's cultural system is undergoing far-reaching changes at present, and this has also made it incumbent on the author of the present study to explain the objectives of the changes and the basic features of both old and new.

This concept of the tasks lying ahead also determined the structure of this study which falls into three chapters. In the first the foundations of cultural policy, the influence of historical factors and tradition, and the basic guidelines of cultural policy in self-managing socialism are set forth. The second provides a survey of the cultural development of the peoples and nationalities and of the various forms of cultural interdependence and interaction. The third covers the institutional framework, forms of financing, encouragement of creative talent, study of cultural requirements, old and new forms of dissemination and promotion of culture, methods used in the planning of cultural development and training of cultural agents.

In Yugoslavia the term culture is generally used in its narrower sense and does not include science, education and physical culture. The following study is consequently limited to institutions and activity directly

Foreword

concerned with the arts. It gives a general outline of relationships in this domain as well as the reflections of economic and social development thereupon.

In the preparation of this study I received valuable assistance from the fellows of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Development and from the members of the Consultative Committee: Tome Momirovski (Macedonia), Radivoje Suković (Montenegro), Ljubo Jandrić (Bosnia-Herzegovina), Zivan Berisavljevic (Serbia), Pero Djetelić (Croatia) and Tomo Martelanc (Slovenia).

Stevan Majstorović

Introduction: Foundations of cultural policy

Basic features of the Yugoslav community

NATIONAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Yugoslavia is a country with many distinctive features, some of which exert a direct influence on cultural policy and practice. It is a multinational community whose principal cultural characteristic is an impressive diversity—linguistic, religious and ethnical. The tradition and culture of Slovenes, Croatians, Serbs, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Moslems and the nationalities (ethnic groups) big and small living in Yugoslavia, such as the Albanians, Hungarians, Turks, Bulgarians, Italians, Romanians, Czechs, Slovaks and Ruthenians, all find expression, influence each other mutually and converge on a comparatively small area. This national and cultural diversity is also sanctioned legally and politically by the Yugoslav Constitution and by the most important political acts which explicitly proclaim the right of all peoples and nationalities to free cultural development and to their own cultural identity. This right is the basic component of cultural policy.

A federal system with a high level of decentralization and an advanced local autonomy is the other basic feature. Yugoslavia consists of six republics (Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia) and two autonomous provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo), which form a part of the Socialist Federated Republic of Serbia. Decentralization, which is also a prominent feature of cultural and overall policy, is in full conformity with the self-managing organization of society which calls for the expansion of decision-making centres and the delegation of government power to the society. But decentralization is not only a result of autonomous organization. It is a condition *sine qua non* in Yugoslavia because the fulfilment of the right to free political, economic and cultural development of the peoples and nationalities would not be possible in a

centralized organization of society. This was the weakest point of pre-war Yugoslavia, which was based on the principles of centralism and, to a certain extent, hegemony. The bourgeois society and the bourgeois parties were unable to ensure the necessary conditions for equal national development. This is why pre-war Yugoslavia collapsed and disintegrated without offering any strong resistance to Hitler's aggression in 1941.

TRANSFORMATION
OF THE CULTURAL SYSTEM

Self-managing socialism now being developed is the next salient feature of Yugoslavia. It is based on the idea of emancipated labour, the gradual withering away of the traditional functions of government power and on the development of various forms of direct democracy in their stead. The ideas by which social development is inspired are directly reflected upon and applied to the organization of cultural activity and the general cultural and creative climate. It is the cultural system as a whole, that is the organization of cultural and art institutions and relations within them, the modes of financing, rules, regulations and other instruments whereby their status and activity are determined, that is changing, as are the instruments which determine the status and position of creative activity and of its encouragement and promotion by society, as well as the forms of remuneration of artists and cultural workers. The development of the social system on a self-managing (autonomous) basis has led to many innovations and changes in the activities of cultural institutions. The global aims of cultural development have been defined in conformity with the principles of self-management: the socialization and democratization of culture, complete freedom of creativity, the development of the national cultures on the basis of equality, an opening to world cultural processes and trends, the cultural activation of local and regional communities, the emancipation of culture from provincialism and the assertion of the cultural role of the working people.

Transformation of the cultural system is being achieved through the gradual emancipation of culture and art from the arbitrary functions of the State and the utilitarianism of day-to-day routine policy. This process of emancipation should open new prospects in the domain of relations between society and culture and make possible their more direct interaction. The far-reaching changes and efforts to define the social position of culture in society in a novel manner have called forth lively and broad discussions. The majority taking part in these discussions have opted in favour of the new principles.

Cultural policy at present covers relations and forms of activity that already exist in practice, the changes under way, new forms of decision-making in culture, and the establishment of the new institutions of 'cultural authority'.

DIFFERENCES IN LEVELS
OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Yugoslavia's many and various peculiarities inevitably entail a considerable diversity of solutions. This diversity is an expression of democratic practice and respect for the specific features of individual environments while testifying to the creative and original application of common principles. Laws on the financing of cultural institutions and activities which call for the appropriation of a certain percentage of royalties, film tax, tax on spirits, patent rights, etc., as a source of revenue have been passed in Serbia and Croatia, for example. Although the objectives are the same, practice is different in the other republics and other sources of financing have been established. In Macedonia and Serbia, the houses of culture are the most popular cultural institutions in rural areas and in Slovenia, where standards of urbanization are far more advanced, cultural clubs are the most popular form. In some republics, educational and cultural affairs have been placed within the jurisdiction of a single secretariat (ministry); there are separate secretariats for each domain of activity in others; in the case of Serbia and Macedonia, they are also responsible for science and physical culture, but in Croatia, for physical culture only, science having been placed under the jurisdiction of a special council for scientific research and activity.

As distinct from these differences which testify to considerable spiritual wealth and diversity of experience, there is also the reverse of the medal, namely the differences which stem from disparities in cultural development levels of the individual republics and of the individual regions within a single republic. Cultural disparities are most frequently a reflection of disparities in economic development which are part of the heritage of the past. Although notably alleviated in the period from 1945 to 1969, these disparities are still fairly conspicuous. The programme of Yugoslavia's cultural policy must therefore embrace widely disparate tasks and objectives—ranging from the encouragement of top-level artistic creative talent and keeping pace with contemporary cultural development in the world, to the solution of such elementary cultural problems as the promotion of literacy, the encouragement of reading, the expansion of the cinema network, etc.

The concept of culture and cultural policy

THE HISTORICAL COMPONENT

Although the Yugoslav State was established only in 1918, the Yugoslav peoples have a long-standing cultural tradition which is deeply ingrained in the present concept of culture. Some of its parts (Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Vojvodina) were previously incorporated in the Austro-

Hungarian monarchy. Since the end of the fourteenth century, when the Balkan peninsula was invaded by the Turks, large parts of what is today Yugoslavia had been under Turkish rule. In the Middle Ages these were independent states with high standards of culture and civilization. Although, owing to the vicissitudes of fortune and history, they formed parts of different states and belonged to different cultural political spheres, the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia fostered and cherished their mutual cultural ties and succeeded in preserving their authentic expression in art and culture and in maintaining the continuity of their cultural development.

Having assimilated the influences of classical Greece and Rome and, later on, of the Byzantine Empire and Central Europe, the Yugoslav peoples created cultural and artistic syntheses endowed with their original creative imprint. This led to an impressive variety and diversity of cultural and artistic expression seldom found elsewhere within so comparatively small an area. The Balkan peninsula being on the crossroads between Central Europe and the Near East had, since time immemorial, been a point of intersection of cultural and political influences. In their efforts to achieve cultural and political assimilation and ensure the permanency of their domination, many invaders despoiled and carried off objects of cultural value, prohibited the use of the national languages and written literatures and suppressed creative activity.

Under the circumstances, culture became a means of struggle for national existence and survival, and it was in the cultural sphere that the national creative energy was accumulated and expanded. Rapid industrial and urban development, as well as the large-scale economic and cultural opening of the country to the world resulted in the change of the meaning and sense of culture. And yet the term culture also denotes this magnificent cultural heritage and tradition and the prominent role of national culture in history.

DIFFERENTIATION OF THE CULTURAL CONCEPT

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at a time when the concept of culture, taken over from Europe, began acquiring wider currency, it became directly linked with policy among the Yugoslav peoples. Cultural movements which appeared among them at the time were also political movements and constituted an integral part of the struggle for liberation and national independence. Such a concept of culture as an integral part of political and national aspirations was adopted by all strata—the peasant majority, the young bourgeoisie and the incipient working class.

The raising of cultural standards, the study and growing knowledge of cultural history and the assertion of national cultural values contributed to the expansion and growth of national feeling, to the spiritual and moral

mobilization required by the struggle for independent national existence. Poetry and prose, drama and music, the visual arts all found a powerful inspiration in the national effort to win political and cultural distinction. In most cases the term 'culture' was used with the attribute 'national' while the term 'cultural mission' derived from it was used interchangeably with the kindred but broader term of national mission. The metaphors widely used at the time, such as the 'national cultural heritage', 'workers in national culture', etc., only served to emphasize this role and character.

The evolution of the term 'cultural policy', which is of more recent date, proceeded along somewhat different lines. Although used by Yugoslav publicists for some decades, the meaning of this term was not always defined with sufficient accuracy. When it appeared in the 1930s, together with a number of related terms (educational, farm, monetary policy, etc.), it reflected the cultural realities of the time: the unorganized, fragmented nature of cultural initiatives, the isolation of rural areas from contemporary cultural trends and developments, the insufficiently developed network of cultural institutions. Yugoslavia was a predominantly agrarian country before the war and the overwhelming majority tended to identify culture with traditional national cultural lore and its most characteristic forms (folk songs and dances, the great epic narrative poems handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth, the national handicrafts, various ancient customs and religious culture). Under the circumstances cultural manifestations were mostly of a spontaneous and non-institutionalized nature while cultural policy was devoid of a definite sense.

The term therefore had a definite meaning only in so far as it referred to urban culture, which was undergoing an identical process of differentiation as a result of industrial development and differentiation of social structure. According to the urban concept, culture was identified with civilized habits and behaviour copied from the European bourgeoisie.

UNITY OF POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ACTION IN THE REVOLUTION

The young and numerically weak working class created and developed its own forms of cultural activity—workers' choruses, amateur drama societies, workers' libraries and reading rooms, and their own press in which social problems and themes were predominant. As conceived by the workers' movement, culture was a component part of the political struggle, an expression of the efforts to develop class consciousness and give one's cultural and creative contribution to the struggle for social rights and justice. Concurrently with the dissemination of knowledge and new ideas, the aim of culture was to promote and popularize a vision of a more humane and equitable society. This cultural movement was a direct

sequel to the nineteenth century social movement inspired by the ideas of Marx and European social democracy. An extremely strong movement, generally known as the intellectual left-wing, developed in the period between the two world wars. The most eminent poets, artists, musicians and publicists from this movement took part in the armed struggle against the Nazi and Fascist invaders. This movement contributed a great deal to the preparation of the intellectual climate for the 1941-45 Revolution.

In the summer of 1941 an armed rising, organized and headed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia broke out in the country, then occupied partly by Nazi Germany and Italy and partly by Hungary and Bulgaria. In this struggle, which was indissolubly linked with cultural action, culture was considered as a component part of a policy to which it was linked by common objectives. Various forms of cultural activity—courses for illiterates, folk song and dance recitals and other events, lectures, etc.—were organized on the territories liberated by the Partisan units.

The intelligentsia and some most eminent artists contributed greatly to the People's Liberation war by taking part in the armed struggle both as fighters and as cultural activists. This is wholly in keeping with the tradition of committed culture which is indissolubly linked with the social and political struggle and to this very day exerts a strong influence on the concept and function of culture.

CULTURAL POLICY SINCE THE WAR

After the successful conclusion of the revolutionary struggle which culminated in the liberation of the country, tremendous reconstruction efforts were made. This is a period of extremely dynamic cultural development and large-scale activity. Damaged buildings were repaired and new ones built, mass cultural activities, particularly on an amateur basis, acquired a vast scope and intensity, new schools were built throughout the country and the educational system broadened. The new socialist authorities extended notable assistance and support to cultural initiatives and acted as co-ordinators of the multifarious cultural activities. In the light of the newly created needs and cultural aspirations of the people called forth by the Revolution, everything seemed inadequate and insufficient—a great shortage of skilled and trained personnel was felt both in the economy and public health, education and culture, to say nothing of the lack of space and accommodation.

Elements of planning were applied for the first time, and a five-year development plan based on the principles of centralized administration and guidance was adopted. Although in lesser detail than the economy, education and culture were likewise covered by the plan. The nationalization of industry and the big agricultural estates led to a notable expansion

of the social (public) sector, thus in turn enhancing the role of the Socialist State, which became the regulator of development—economic, social and cultural. The previous organization of cultural institutions—theatres, museums, galleries, archives, concert halls, as well as cinemas—was not changed to any great extent, but their activity was adjusted and geared to the new tasks. The organization of culture and art institutions was dependent on the State, which controlled the work of these institutions and financed their activity through the national budget. The State also extended assistance to art associations and allocated studios and flats to artists through the responsible government agencies, provided retirement insurance for some categories of artists, granted scholarships for post-graduate study and specialization, etc. Directly or indirectly all activities in culture and art and all people employed in these sectors depended on the State budget.

This organization was effective in the period of post-war construction when the State, under conditions marked by inadequate material and social development, acted successfully as mobilizer and co-ordinator. This was the period of the 'quantitative leap forward' during which the material conditions for future cultural development were created. But the greater the social and economic progress, the more the shortcomings became evident. It became increasingly obvious that quantitative growth was not enough and that it must be accompanied by an equivalent rise in quality. It was also gradually realized that the problem was not merely a technical question of organization, but concerned the attitude of society, the status and position of culture in society, and cultural creativity and cultural activity in general.

That concept of culture in Yugoslavia is now being superseded as incompatible with self-managing socialism in which the role of the State is declining and organized society is assuming an ever stronger role. The basic theoretical and practical reasons for the abolition of the previous organization and the change of the social position and status of culture are examined further on.

Cultural policy and self-management

Budget financing and bureaucracy

The centralized State-financed organization of culture was aptly defined by a film director as 'cock-eyed culture' with one eye permanently focused on the authorities and the other on the public. This witticism vividly describes the contradictory position of cultural institutions which are inevitably exposed to diverse influences under such a dispensation—that of the authorities, in this case the administrative budget organs which allocate subsidies on the one hand, and of the community whose cultural requirements they are trying to satisfy, on the other. Although these interests are not necessarily antagonistic, the danger that restrictions be imposed from outside and that a routine attitude to cultural tasks gain ascendancy within the institutions itself is inherent in such a situation.

Dependence on subsidies primarily obliges the institutions to strive for the improvement of work conditions and better remuneration of their personnel by obtaining a larger slice of the budget, and not on the basis of increased activity and results achieved. Under the circumstances, their links with the public are invested with a moral rather than a practical importance because income deriving from box office receipts, admission fees and similar sources were either symbolic (museums, art galleries, musical institutions, houses of culture) or accounted for only a minor part of total income (theatres). The other factor whose influence should be mentioned in this context is that the community exerts only an indirect influence on decisions concerning the cultural institutions. The authority and the administrative budget agency which pass the relevant decisions directly, or at least give their approval and consent, are consequently invested with a far more important role. There is practically no incentive to strive for 'audience appeal' and affirmation, to improve the quality of one's programme, to find new forms of expression and activity, to foster a lively creative spirit. Instead, the institutions merely adjust to the

existing situation and seek to ingratiate themselves with the centres of power and budget financing. The managers and other office-holders are obliged to keep themselves permanently tuned-in to the 'wavelength' of the powers that be and adjust their institution to the hints and signals received therefrom. Social and cultural responsibility is replaced by responsibility to the higher committees and this fosters of bureaucratic and exclusivist tendencies. A tacit understanding is created between the representatives of the institution and the administrative budget organs, and compromise solutions adopted concerning the work of cultural institutions and overall cultural activity.

As they are not attuned to their social environment by their objective social position and status, there is always the very real danger that the creative ability and talents of the people employed in cultural institutions might begin stagnating with the passage of time and that a purely academic attitude should gradually prevail in their programmes and mode of their fulfilment. These tendencies are further enhanced by the attitude of the budget and administrative organs which act as impersonal collective bodies in decision-making and which tend to lay heaviest emphasis on their function of control. It is more important to them, even at the price of unrelieved mediocrity, that the standard ideological and political, cultural and aesthetic precepts of conformity be strictly observed than that anything, even in the most positive and creative sense, should clash with these rules and provoke controversial views. Such an attitude stems from the system of responsibility, that is, the fact that from the moment they approve of a given activity or programme the committees assume a responsibility for it. Hence the strong propensity of these institutions to conformism is due to the fact that, in the final analysis, responsibility is not borne by them.

The other phenomenon which also stems from this relationship and is likewise closely connected with the function of 'cultural authority' is invested with an entirely different sense. While the attitude of the authorities to everything different from or potentially at variance with the customary standards is reserved and outwardly objective, within the generally accepted and legalized framework this attitude is marked by subjectivity. This subjectivity is particularly conspicuous in local communities in which, owing to the intricacies and complexities of administrative budget relations, the very existence of cultural initiatives and distribution of funds for culture largely depends on the attitude of the committees and influential individuals. As there are no objective criteria whose validity has been put to the test by society and would therefore be obligatory for them, both may easily adopt an irresponsible and arbitrary attitude where individual cultural activities are concerned.

This tends to provoke various paradoxical situations. For instance, the less affluent communities may have a richer and more varied cultural life due to the understanding shown them than far wealthier ones. Or, for

the same subjective reasons, cultural activity may die a slow death in an area with long-standing cultural traditions while flourishing in others where such traditions do not exist. In a system of administrative budget relations the responsibility of the committees where culture is concerned is evidently lopsided, and far more political than practical. They are less responsible if they have done very little for the cultural advancement of an individual community than if they have failed in the exercise of effective control—for example if they approved a programme containing dubious elements.

Subjectivism is also indirectly reflected in the nature of the decisions adopted and in their general social effect. Regardless of whether they refer to the financing of cultural institutions, personnel policy, or the fiscal treatment accorded to works of art, these decisions invariably imply a judgement and evaluation with cultural and even aesthetic implications. Although in an indirect manner, the administrative and budgetary organs assume the role of arbiters in matters of culture and art. Even when they proclaim the principles of objectivity and non-interference or strive to adhere strictly to these principles, they inevitably act as arbiters by virtue of the fact that they are the ones who decide and who are objectively in a position to extend preferential treatment as regards the distribution of funds, show a stronger affinity for individual cultural spheres, or determine the 'rank' and position of culture as a whole in relation to other spheres of activity as they deem best.

The evaluation of results achieved in culture and art, always a highly susceptible domain, is thus exposed to subjectivist and narrow empiricist influences. This is done without public participation and on the basis of ill-defined criteria of which the public is ignorant. The implicit judgement inherent in all such decisions of the committees that refer to culture is inevitably authoritarian and invested with still greater practical importance than the opinion of expert and public criticism. Besides, those who decide are more often than not insufficiently acquainted with the peculiarities of the individual arts and cultural activities, thus increasing the possibility of erroneous decisions which may have an adverse effect on the cultural development of an individual milieu. But although this danger is very real, it is still a lesser evil than the psychological and political consequences typical of such a cultural climate. The number of people who 'learn the rules of the game', renounce all initiative and adopt an accommodating attitude to the views and judgements of the higher committees and authorities as the most convenient means of furthering their personal interests and careers, tends to increase steadily with the passage of time and as a result of these subjectivist influences.

Culture treated as a sector

The tendency to distribute funds according to the ratios established is very marked in the administrative-budget financing system. These proportions are seldom revised and only partial changes are made as a rule. In conformity with the criteria of distribution adopted, greater importance is attached to static rather than dynamic elements of cultural activity—in other words, the volume of allocations does not depend on the results achieved and which may vary from year to year, or on the programmes submitted, but on the order of precedence in distribution assigned the individual cultural institutions. Thus, it is the institutions rather than their cultural and artistic functions that are financed. Rapid observance of precedence and ‘vested rights’ lead to the neglect of the principle of selectivity which is indispensable in creative art and culture. As distribution is not public there is a tendency to limit the number of applicants, thus greatly reducing the opportunities for novel cultural initiatives to obtain their share of funds. Under an administrative budget dispensation, talented young artists and cultural workers are confronted with formidable difficulties in gaining full artistic expression. The origins of this markedly conservative attitude are identical with those mentioned in the previous paragraph, which referred to the crippling effect of such a dispensation on the adoption of new initiatives.

The administrative way of thinking tends to identify culture with cultural and artistic institutions. It rejects the dynamic concept of culture whereby the latter is identified with the *raison d'être* and essence of all efforts, with the vital spirit which permeates all living relations. A hard and fast bureaucratic concept of culture which is a spiritual product of statism tends to negate culture as a quality of historic development, recognizing only its formal aspect and neglecting the essence and living function of culture. The budget and administrative technique of distribution is based exclusively on lists and columns, whereby culture and other domains are treated as individual sectors. A statist or bureaucratic mentality tends to impose this purely technical division as a social one. In the budget, culture, education, public health, the economy, social insurance are reduced to mere sectors of the social organism dissected by bureaucratic logic. Thus they are not only excommunicated from the indivisible entity of society, but also placed in a false position of rivalry and antagonism. Corrections in distribution in favour of one sector are carried out, as a rule, at the expense of another, thus producing antagonistic relations and an atmosphere of rivalry in which everyone peeps into each other's pocket. This tends to weaken the functional inter-connexion between the individual spheres of public activity among which artificial barriers have thus been created. The logic of the administrative-budgetary system tends to cast living relationships and processes into rigid moulds and to subject the vast, complex and multi-faceted social being to simplistic, cut and dried, petrified

administrative norms. It tends to impoverish the meaning of culture, which is an integral part of social labour, and which is both a way of life and its deeper sense.

The rigid compartmentalization within the framework of an administrative budget system is vividly illustrated by the example of two domains, kindred in terms of aim and method, i.e. education and culture, which are extremely hard to divide both in theory and practice. Ever growing cultural requirements, and the technological revolution which notably enhanced the role of education, have resulted in the strengthening and expansion of the previous programmatic and functional ties between the two. Many educational functions have been assumed by cultural institutions during the past few decades and, conversely, educational institutions are assuming cultural tasks on an ever larger scale. In spite of this, the logic of budget administration tends to divide education and culture into distinct sectors and separates them by administrative barriers even when they are organizationally united within one and the same ministry. This division is imposed at all levels—from local and regional to central (federal). In the administrative-budgetary distribution of funds, the material interests of these two domains, whose functions are so closely inter-related, are not identical but separate and distinct.

Self-management and cultural policy

Cultural activity is a component part of the uniform process of associated labour. And yet in the system of administrative budget distribution, the participants in associated labour who contribute to the creation of the surplus value exert only an indirect influence on cultural development. As already stated, the cultural committees and supreme authorities, the political and cultural elite are the most important factors of decision-making. In the state organization of society, the source of funds invested in social development is obscured. All grants from the public treasury are considered an act of State—it is not clear how these resources are obtained nor is it evident that they are actually a contribution of the working people. The surplus value is alienated from the workers and, consequently, also the right to decide on its use. The issue is further clouded by the fact that in a centralized administrative budget system, associated labour is fragmented to such a degree that the individual participants are unaware of their close inter-connexion. Owing to the impossibility of deciding on the use of the surplus value created, whole sectors of public activity such as culture, which the working people have partly come to feel as something intended for others and not for themselves, have been alienated from those who create the surplus value.

The first step to the 'disalienation' of culture is the demystification of the fate of surplus value and the democratization of decision-making concerning its use. The basic democratic principle is that the working

people who create the surplus value be fully informed of the social, cultural, educational and other purposes it will be used for. It is imperative that the full expression of the interests of the working people be ensured by the mode of decision-making, and that these interests be adjusted publicly and in a democratic manner to the interests of the other strata and society as a whole. In an administrative budget system these interests are not interpreted by the community actually concerned since this is done by others on its behalf and without its direct participation—in the case of culture these decisions are made by the representatives of committees and cultural institutions. It is thus that a monopoly of decision-making is created. No genuine democracy is possible until this monopoly is shattered, and direct participation of the working people in decision-making on the use of the surplus value ensured.¹ The idea on which self-managing socialism is based is that the workers (producers) are entitled to take part in decision-making on all public (social) affairs, that they should become the factors of policy-making and social relations, and that they should express and safeguard their interests directly without any intermediaries whatsoever. They should know what their actual position is in the process of associated labour and also for what purposes the surplus value, in whose creation they have taken part, will be used. If this were not so, the democratization of social relations and the democratization of culture would be a mere formality.

Socialized culture

All these critical remarks concerning the status and position of culture and cultural institutions in administrative budget relations can be summed up in the following dilemma which has been raised but not resolved by this critical analysis. If, in some respects, government grants and subsidies represent gifts of the Danaides, who and what should replace the function of the State? This seems at first sight a vicious circle.

Under conditions marked by an insufficiently developed cultural market and limited cultural consumption, cultural institutions, if left to their own resources, are not in a position (at least the majority of them) for some time to come, to develop their activity and achieve economic emancipation by themselves. Financial assistance is therefore indispensable. And yet, as shown by experience, such assistance also produces adverse effects and, although undoubtedly contributing to the economic stability of the

1. Political scientist Dr. Najdan Pasic noted in a study that the process of social emancipation of labour introduced by self-management threatens the very foundations of bureaucratic rule by depriving it of the possibility or at least notably restricting the latter's power in the management of the total surplus value created by social labour. Its possibilities of exercising control over the overall social reproduction are likewise notably restricted. This is why the resistance offered by bureaucracy is the most vehement precisely in this domain.

institution, also entails the ever-present danger of bureaucratization. It has been shown that economic dependence is the root of all other forms of dependence which tend to stunt and restrict free spiritual development. If this is so, one may rightly ask, what is the correct solution?

In order to answer the question properly the nature of the dilemma must first be defined precisely. It is not a question of whether assistance is necessary or not (as is evidently indispensable), but how it is extended, who decides, and on what basis. The genuine and profound dilemma which is invested with a broader meaning and bears upon the organization of society as a whole is in the following: State-managed or socialized culture? Depending on the conditions under which it is granted, assistance may produce entirely different social and cultural effects: it may act either as a restrictive factor or as a vigorous incentive to cultural development and to the democratic transformation of culture.

In order to find an effective solution to this dilemma it is imperative to define the role of the community and broader public in the system of decision-making. Cultural development is not autonomous. It is organically linked with and in many respects conditioned by general development. In the Yugoslav case, cultural development is an integral part of autonomous development as a whole extending to all spheres—economy, culture, education and public health. Decision-making in culture is part and parcel of the system of autonomous compacts and decision-making in which all functions and powers of conventional government are radically altered. The role of the government organs and the State in decision-making and in the exercise of power is assumed by society directly through the social organs in cultural and artistic institutions and in the cultural communities and the cultural funds. Covert decision-making in agencies is replaced by democratic explicitness and public insight in the autonomous process of decision-making. Arbitrary bureaucratic behaviour gives way to the correct evaluation of cultural results by qualified social bodies whose work is public and which endeavour to apply the most objective criteria. Protectionism and 'vested rights' in distribution are replaced by an open, receptive attitude to all cultural initiatives and by public bidding for funds. The subjective decisions of agencies are replaced by objective, publicly defined criteria based on social and scientific analysis. Responsibility to committees is replaced by democratic responsibility to society. The budget and administrative distribution is replaced by social funds managed by elected bodies allocating resources in conformity with publicly proclaimed criteria. The salary system, which identified cultural workers and artists with civil servants, is replaced by remuneration according to the results of work and one's creative contribution.

As it may be inferred, development in all spheres, including the cultural one, is directly antithetical to Statism. It is centred on the idea of the socialization of all spheres of public activity and calls for direct participation of the community concerned in decision-making and its active

participation in public activity. Both aspects of Yugoslav cultural policy—the theoretical conceptual one as a sum total of objectives and principles of development formulated, and the practical one, as a series of practical measures which should contribute to the accomplishment of these objectives—are based on these premises. The socialization of culture, which is the general objective of this policy, calls for the change of both the external and internal relations which formerly existed in the administrative budgetary system. It denotes a comprehensive programme of ‘de-Statization’ of all spheres of public activity and the gradual democratization of relations between cultural institutions and society as well as the democratization of relations within the institution itself.

In the relations between institutions and society it implies the emancipation of institutions from administrative budget dependence and administrative subordination, their interrelation with their community within the context of common social and cultural interests, a more open and receptive attitude to the influence of the public and other democratic factors as regards the conception of the programme and other activities of the institution. It further implies the creation and development of a democratic cultural climate which will make a free competition of creative forces possible, ensure the enforcement of the principle of selectivity, the emancipation of evaluation from bureaucratic subjectivism and restrictions, while concurrently heightening the sense of responsibility for cultural and social development of the community as a whole. Within the framework of the individual institutions, socialization means the introduction of the principle of income distribution according to results of work, the abolition of ‘employee’ status, the participation of all persons employed in decision-making on matters relating to the institution and its activity, the abolition of administrative subordination in the domain of its internal relations and organization which in turn produced the same type of subordination of the institution in relation to the higher committees. Socialization within the framework of the institution also means the encouragement of creative effort and spirit of co-operation on the basis of common interests of individuals and institutions, the development of new cultural initiatives, the establishment of ties on an autonomous basis and the promotion of various forms of co-operation with kindred cultural institutions.

The experience gained with regard to the administrative budgetary system of financing has shown clearly enough that the concept of democratization of culture would be narrow if it were to denote merely the promotion of the system of financing, the construction of new cultural projects, the expansion of cultural ‘production’ and ‘consumption’ and the satisfaction of the existing cultural requirements. These are all undoubtedly elements of a democratic cultural climate, but inadequate in themselves. The vital criterion on which a cultural system passes the acid test of democracy is the mode of decision-making, which actually reflects the basic principles of development and organization of a given society.

Acting on behalf of society, government power as embodied in the State tends to change into a force above society with the passage of time. In the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx firmly rejected the concept of the State as the 'educator' of the people and roundly denounced the notion of 'the education of the people by the State'. 'On the contrary,' wrote Marx, 'it is the State, which needs a severe education by the people.'¹ Consequently, the democratization of culture is not possible without democratic decision-making in the sphere of culture and cultural development.

Culture and the new status and position of the individual

The character of self-management and the function of culture, science and education are dealt with in detail by the Yugoslav Federal Constitution, the constitutions of the Republics, the statutes of the autonomous provinces, the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and in other documents. The principles of freedom of artistic creativity and the obligations of the community with regard to the development of art and culture are also formulated in all these documents. The fact that particular attention has been devoted to these matters testifies to the direct interest of the self-managerial institutions in creativity and cultural progress.

Creative activity and culture have been defined in a qualitatively novel manner within the context of new self-managerial relations. They denote a wide range of opportunities for the expression and confirmation of the human personality in all spheres of public activity—in politics, the economy, personal activity and the arts. The humane, widely educated and creative personality, assigned the role of protagonist and creator of social relations, is the ultimate end and measure of all social processes. This is an important aspect both of cultural and educational policy, as well as of social initiative and effort in the economy and other spheres. It illuminates the essence of self-management in culture as its most important objective—the establishment of a novel relationship between the individual and society, the abolition of the division into the rulers and the ruled.

The role of the working man and his direct interests, social, economic and cultural, are pre-eminent in self-management. The fact that the individual decides on the results of his work and on the surplus value thus created, that he deliberately and according to his own judgement invests part of his labour in the satisfaction of the social and cultural requirements of the community in which he lives has far reaching social repercussions. In such conditions politics are rehabilitated, and these matters are no longer the exclusive concern of the professional political bodies and poli-

1. K. Marx. *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, ed. Kultura, Belgrade, 1950, p. 25.

ticians and a sphere of activity alienated from the workers and masses. Practically all take part in the conduct of policy, the greatest number of people are in a position to decide on and influence social processes, a fact which leads to the democratization of policy and encourages the individual to 'return' to society and contribute actively to the creation and development of social relations.

It is on these foundations and in a qualitatively novel manner that individual and social interests, formerly placed in an antagonistic position, are harmonized, this being, in the final analysis, the acid test of the ethical values of every society. A sceptical attitude to the possibility of influencing the course of events leads to social passivity and the 'withdrawal' of the individual. In self-managerial relations, however, the individual has countless incentives and opportunities for self-expression and assertion, factors that link up and harmonize the individual and social interest through participation in decision-making. Dissatisfaction with the world as it is, and a critical attitude to actual living conditions acts as an incentive to do away with the existing state of affairs, create new social relations, lay down and promote new individual and social values.

Such a position of the individual is of particular importance for the development of culture in which the quest of novel ways and untrodden paths has always been a requisite of progress. In such conditions, cultural policy acquires a broader meaning—it is not charted and pursued by committees and organizations only, but influenced in direct or indirect fashion by all citizens who express their cultural interests without any intermediaries. Cultural requirements thus become a dynamic concept, they denote both existing and incipient needs. It is on this basis that prospects are created for the gradual superseding of the division between the 'creators' and 'consumers' of cultural values, and between the 'makers' and 'followers' of cultural policies. Under the conditions existing in Yugoslavia this is, in many ways, still a general orientation and perspective rather than an actual reality, but such headway has already been made in the development of autonomous relations that the citizens represent an important factor in decision-making where cultural development is concerned. Public discussion of the programmes of cultural institutions, their mode of financing, the election of self-managing organs in the cultural sphere, the interaction and establishment of ever stronger and closer ties between culture and other spheres of public activity on an autonomous basis tend to encourage their social and cultural activation which will become increasingly conspicuous in the future.

Participation by the individual in decision-making on public affairs heightens his interest in social problems—conditions and problems of economic growth, the development of public amenities and services, public health and transport, culture, science and education. It is the objective social situation that encourages the self-managers to improve continuously, raise their educational and general cultural standards, transcend the lop-

sidedness, inherent in specialization, and develop their intellectual faculties and potentialities so as to become versatile and complete personalities. The quantum of information of all kinds received from one's socio-political community, enterprise and self-managing institutions in one's environment is increasing from day to day. Under such conditions culture ceases to be an alienated, remote sphere and an attribute to social prestige and becomes an extremely concrete and very real need. It is not an expression of abstract interests, refined taste and education which were once a privilege of the higher strata but of positive, awakened ambition while opening undreamed of opportunities for recognition of one's abilities.

Distinct prospects have likewise been created on an autonomous basis for the reintegration of the hitherto alienated and divided spheres of human activity and for the adjustment of individual and social interest. The sense and aim of the present cultural efforts in Yugoslavia is in the gradual superseding, in conformance with the newly created position of the human personality, of the historically conditioned division of culture from the life, work and interests of the broadest strata of the people. Practical cultural policy in its general orientation is guided by the view that it is not possible to fulfil the principles of cultural equality and free cultural development of the human personality without the full affirmation of the role and interests of working man. The profound conviction prevails in Yugoslavia that the new qualities in culture, richer and far more varied cultural forms and opportunities of cultural and creative expression will be created and developed concurrently with the affirmation of the new role of the human personality through self-management. It is likewise considered that the role of intermediary between the citizens and their cultural interests will gradually decline, while social relations as a whole will be permeated to an ever greater extent by cultural influences.

Cultural development of the peoples and nationalities

The right of every people and nationality in Yugoslavia to free development and to their own cultural identity plays an extremely important part in the life of the country. It is no exaggeration to say that the moral and political cohesion of a multi-national community and the humanistic value of the principles on which it is based are gauged precisely by the soundness and development of relations between the nationalities. This is equally true of relations between the individual national cultures which may be intolerant and exclusive or mutually stimulating and based on co-operation.

Self-management the common denominator

Which of the two alternatives will prevail depends primarily on the social relations which determine the character of the community and the position of the individual peoples within it. If there are common social interests, there will be a natural tendency to establish and develop ties and enrich their spiritual lore by cultural exchanges and mutual cultural influences. In that case differences in language, tradition, religion and customs are no longer factors of division which are often taken advantage of by external forces for various machinations, but part of the common cultural heritage and a powerful stimulus for reciprocal enrichment.

Socialist self-managing (autonomous) relations through which cultural and creative efforts are associated, and culture integrated with overall public activity constitute just such a common denominator in Yugoslav society. These relations constitute the basis of socialist democracy which inspires the contacts between the national cultures with mutual trust and encourages the national cultures to open to the broader community and world cultural processes and to put their achievements to the test through these contacts. Socialist autonomous relations are intrinsically a negation of nationalist narrow-mindedness, thus precluding cultural hegemony in any form whatsoever. It is through them that the culture of our socialist

community is acquiring an international character without losing its national one in the process. Self-managing relations are consequently the cornerstone of political and cultural equality of the peoples of Yugoslavia. This equality of rights was formulated as follows in the resolution of the Sixth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia: 'The League of Communists of Yugoslavia considers unscientific and regressive any attempt which would tend to assert the priority of any one nation or culture over another in any way whatsoever. All peoples, each in their own way and in different forms, depending on the historical and other conditions, are contributing to the common cultural treasury of mankind.'

Cultural policy as an instrument of political centralization

An inadequate level of mutual inter-connexion, coupled with isolation from world cultural processes were characteristic of all national cultures in Yugoslavia before the Second World War. The scope and volume of the Yugoslav international cultural exchange was then limited, and the intermittent contacts mostly one-sided. Visits of foreign artists to Yugoslavia were far more frequent than the reverse. No effort was made officially to assert the achievements of the individual peoples for the simple reason that these achievements were ignored within the country itself. Under conditions in which cultural imports exceeded cultural exports several times over, many values and achievements of the national cultures remained unknown abroad. The translation of a literary work by a Yugoslav author was rather an exception and rarity than a normal thing. Only a few artists, sculptors and opera singers succeeded in acquiring an international reputation by sheer force of their talent. The influence of various styles and trends reached the country as a remote echo from the advanced countries of Europe and usually with considerable delay.

Internally, 'cultural exchanges' were likewise extremely limited. Extending privileged treatment to some while denying it to others, the social system was rather a factor of alienation and discord than of *rapprochement* of the national cultures. As political equality was non-existent, cultural equality, a prime condition of mutual interaction and cultural co-operation, was also out of the question. Official cultural policy was but an instrument of the centralizing policy and therefore provoked the mistrust of the national cultures and strengthened their tendency to 'fence themselves in'. The national cultures could not expect any official support of their endeavours to win recognition at home and abroad. Only the centralized greater-Serbian chauvinist conception of a 'trilingual people' (Serbian, Croatian and Slovene) which denied the existence of the other Yugoslav peoples and nationalities could count on such a support.

Under the circumstances, the social premises for the creation of a Yugoslav cultural public were non-existent. Throughout the existence

of pre-war Yugoslavia this public was divided and fragmented. Social and national antagonisms prevented the common cultural objective and interests from gaining expression.

Genesis of the socialist cultural public

The triumph of the Revolution wrought a radical change in the social structure that had constituted the source of social and national antagonism in pre-war Yugoslavia. The new socialist relations which expressed the common social interests and aspirations impelled the development of the national cultures in two directions: the development and promotion of their mutual ties and co-operation, and the creation of ever stronger ties with world cultural processes. It may be affirmed that these have been two dominant features of cultural development during the past two decades. A notable expansion of ties and a stronger interaction of national cultures took place internally. Many common, all-Yugoslav cultural events were established and developed. A system of education based on the same principles, common political practice and identical social objectives has further strengthened the awareness of common interest, unity and 'togetherness' forged during the common struggle for liberation and nation-wide efforts to build a socialist society, while developing a sense of closeness and unity between the individual national cultures at the same time. Itself an expression of such trends in social development, culture steadily tends on its part to enhance the sense of the community of interest and mutual interconnexion. Numerous guest performances and exchanges of artists and cultural workers are organized within the framework of inter-republic cultural co-operation. Many cities and cultural centres, organizations and cultural institutions from the individual republics maintain close cultural ties and organize exchanges of cultural workers.

All these factors have contributed to the creation of a common cultural climate and of a socialist cultural public.

Publishing, mass communication media, the press, films, radio and television have played a prominent part in this respect. The best works written in one of the national languages are translated and published in all Yugoslav languages. Motion picture production, non-existent in the country before the war (only a few newsreels and short tourist films were shot) has developed into a major instrument of cultural relationships. It is common practice for actors and directors from one centre to take part in the shooting of films in others while the technical facilities available are pooled. The public sees all Yugoslav films from all republics, either dubbed or subtitled. Each republic has its central radio and television station which broadcasts its own programme. The best items on programmes are taken over and re-broadcast by the other stations, and the most important cultural events are broadcast by all Yugoslav radio stations.

It is difficult to provide an accurate idea of the actual scope and volume of internal cultural ties as no official records are kept of the many and various forms of interchange and co-operation of publishing and film enterprises from different republics, meetings, conferences, seminars, symposiums, etc. The press, both daily, with its regular cultural columns, and specialized (literary papers and reviews published in various cultural centres and in the languages of the peoples and nationalities, art reviews and other periodicals) have all played a prominent part in this respect. It is largely due to them that no major cultural achievement or event in any part of Yugoslavia and within the framework of any national culture remains unnoticed by the Yugoslav cultural public.

It is thus that the Yugoslav cultural public has become in a certain sense a sounding board and 'launching pad' for the achievements of all national cultures and cultural centres. By selecting and testing the values and creative results achieved this public fosters their affirmation within the Yugoslav national framework and helps them transcend the national boundaries and acquire an international reputation, to say nothing of its contribution to the broadening and deepening of mutual acquaintance. These processes do not imply the existence of some sort of Yugoslav 'melting pot' in which a new alloy—that is a supra-national cultural quality—should be fused. It is actually a question of social relations that stimulate the development of the national cultures and encourage and foster their creative interaction and assertion through mutual co-operation and stimuli—a new feature—in mutual relations and an expression of socialist cultural solidarity.

Linking up with world cultural trends and processes

There has also been a substantial increase in international cultural exchanges, both official (i.e., regulated by cultural conventions and State treaties), and arranged through direct contacts between Yugoslav and foreign cultural and artistic institutions. The number of countries with which Yugoslavia co-operates in the sphere of culture and education has increased five-fold during the past two decades; one hundred countries in 1969 (forty-six by convention, twenty-two under two-year agreements which are regularly renewed). Co-operation with a number of other countries is also developing successfully although no formal conventions have been concluded.

This is only a part of international cultural exchanges. In actual fact, exchanges deriving from direct contacts between Yugoslav and foreign cultural institutions have registered an even sharper rate of growth. The principle recognizing the 'full independence of the socio-political institutions and organizations in the establishment and pursuit of educational and cultural co-operation with foreign countries according to their actual

needs and possibilities' was approved in 1966 by the Federal Executive Council (the Yugoslav Federal Government) and the Chamber of Education and Culture of the Federal Assembly. The large-scale decentralization that followed this decision opened broad prospects for the expansion and promotion of unofficial contacts with all countries. Mutual ties and cultural exchanges between Yugoslav and foreign cities, as well as between Yugoslav and foreign institutions and individuals were established in this period. Certain para-cultural factors, such as the abolition of visas for travel to and from all European and a number of overseas countries, the rapid growth of tourist trade (in 1969 the Yugoslav frontiers were crossed by 53.5 million tourists and travellers and 20.6 million Yugoslavs), the intensive rate of modern highway construction, the development of telecommunications, the expansion of economic ties, etc., also contributed largely in this respect.

The present volume and scale of cultural exchanges is not only incomparably larger than in the pre-war period but also far more balanced. Cultural imports still exceed exports, but the latter have increased appreciably, which testifies to the ever closer ties of the Yugoslav national cultures with world trends and processes. Even those national cultures which were suppressed and whose very existence was denied before the war, such as that of Macedonia, have won international distinction in many spheres.

Yugoslav participation in world cultural trends and processes has also been notably facilitated by the many and various cultural events held in Yugoslavia.¹ Yugoslavia is the host country of many international meetings, congresses, symposia of cultural workers, artists and scholars. The scope and extent of this opening to the world can best be gauged by the following figures: while only literary works by Yugoslav authors were translated and published abroad in 1945, this figure rose to 104 in 1965. Linkage with world cultural processes on so broad a scale had a very favourable influence on the development of all national cultures in Yugoslavia and on the development of the cultures of the nationalities themselves.

1. The Biennial of Graphic Art in Ljubljana, the Zagreb Music Festival, the Belgrade International Theatre Festival (BITEF), the Struga Poetry Festival, the Ljubljana Festival and Ballet Biennial, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, the Music Festival and October Writers Meetings in Belgrade, the International Poetry Day in Sarajevo, the Joint Exhibition of Artists of Slovenia, the Julian Province (Italy) and Carinthia (Austria), the International Jazz Festival in Ljubljana, the Contemporary Chamber Music Festival in Slatina Radenci, the Meeting of Writers of Alpine Countries in Castle Stattenberg, the Writers Meetings in Piran, the 'New Tendencies' in Zagreb, one of the first international manifestations of op-art and kinetic art in the world, the Korcula Summer School of Philosophy, the Scientists' Symposia in Hercegovina, the Sculptors Symposium in Portoroz and similar events such as 'Marble', in Prilep, 'Marble and Music', in Arandjelovac, 'Forma Viva', in Kostanjevica, etc.

The cultural awakening of Macedonia

The position and status of national cultures is best illustrated by the development of Macedonian culture, which was denied before the war and represented a bone of contention between Serbian and Bulgarian nationalism. In spite of its magnificent cultural heritage, particularly in the domain of visual art and folklore, it was not until 1945 that the Macedonians, the last of the Slavonic peoples to do so, constituted their literary language. Rapid progress has been made since, as testified by the following data. While in 1939 there was only a Faculty of the Humanities with 159 students in Skopje, today the University of Skopje has 18,000 students and is a thriving academic, cultural and research centre. On the eve of the Second World War there were 700 schools (with no instruction in the Macedonian language), as compared with 1,622 schools with 318,000 pupils and 13,000 teachers at present.

After the liberation Macedonia had 5 artists and 6 writers—as against 120 writers and 105 artists today. The number of theatres increased from two to eight. There were no museums, now there are eighteen. Entirely new cultural institutions have been established: a philharmonic orchestra, an opera, an academy of music and drama, culture clubs, a concert board, a national and university library, etc. In addition, 33 central and 128 local and branch libraries with a fund of almost one million books are now operating in Macedonia. The former small capacity local radio station has developed since 1945 into a modern sound and television broadcasting centre from which about twenty hours of sound and three hours of video programme are broadcast every day. The Museum of Modern Art was opened in Skopje and nine specialized art galleries in the individual Macedonian towns. Books in the Macedonian language are issued by ten publishing houses while the Macedonian Academy of Science and Art was established two years ago.

Macedonian culture is open both in relation to the Yugoslav and the international cultural public. The best works of Yugoslav and foreign writers, both classic and modern have been translated into Macedonian, while the Macedonian writers such as Blazo Koneski, Aco Sopov, Slavko Janevski and others have been translated into the languages of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and also into a number of foreign languages. Contemporary Macedonian painting is highly valued in Yugoslav art circles, while Macedonian folk songs enjoy a tremendous popularity among the wider public. Macedonia also organizes many Yugoslav and international cultural events.

Although impressive, these facts and figures are unable to convey a full and accurate idea of the actual growth, vitality and upsurge of Macedonian culture which is, on the one hand, striving to keep pace with contemporary cultural developments and processes in Yugoslavia and the world at large while concurrently grappling with elementary problems on the

other (illiteracy, which formerly extended to 75 per cent, has now been reduced to 24.5 per cent of the population. Once denied and suppressed, with the assistance and backing of the other national cultures in Yugoslavia, Macedonian culture has achieved more during the past two and half decades than during the preceding hundred years.

Cultural development of the nationalities¹

According to the 1961 population census, the nationalities (ethnic groups) living in Yugoslavia had the following number of inhabitants: Albanians, 914,760; Hungarians, 504,368; Turks, 182,964; Slovaks, 86,433; Bulgarians, 62,624; Romanians, 60,862; Czechs, 30,331; Italians, 25,615. There are smaller ethnic groups of Ruthenians and others. Three-fourths of all ethnic groups live in the Republic of Serbia.

Pre-war Yugoslavia was based on the monolithic principle and did not afford any opportunity for the all-round economic and cultural development of the nationalities. The nationalities did not enjoy identical position and status; some had certain rights, others were entirely deprived of all rights. It was only after the Second World War, in the socialist community, that the nationalities acquired equal treatment and rights with the other peoples. Many members of the nationalities took part in the People's Liberation War, waged under the watchword of 'Brotherhood and Unity'. The Federal Constitution, the constitutions of the republics in which the nationalities live, the many political documents adopted in the post-war period guarantee the equality of rights of nationalities and stipulate their right to the use of their native language in public institutions, law courts and in public places. Such a policy has contributed to the strengthening of the equal position of nationalities which, with the passage of time, have become the active creators of their own development and fully fledged participants in the social life of the country.

In the course of the past twenty-five years the nationalities have created their own intelligentsia and working class, and have also developed an impressive number of educational and cultural institutions, of which there were none at all before the war. Some nationalities, such as the Albanian-speaking peoples, acquired their first writers, philologists, faculties with tuition in their native language, theatres, scholars, research workers, artists, economists and other experts during the period under review. This explains why the nationalities identified the achievement of the social interests of all working people of Yugoslavia with the fulfilment of their own social and national interests. The most numerous nationalities (Albanian and Hungarian) live in regions with different levels of economic

1. The usual term 'national minorities' was rejected as inadequate in 1964. The term 'nationalities', not wholly satisfactory, is intended to denote part of a nation, whose other larger part lives outside Yugoslavia.

and social development. The Albanians lived under far less favourable conditions owing to the extremely low levels of economic and cultural development in the Kosovo region. In some cases they had to start completely from scratch. Twenty years ago the university in Pristina, the centre of the Autonomous Province, with its numerous faculties and instruction in the Albanian language, to say nothing of the modern radio station with a rich and varied programme in the Albanian language, television programmes in Albanian, a large and modern publishing enterprise for Albanian editions, an Albanian stage within the framework of the provincial theatre, Albanian literature and Albanian holders of doctor's degrees in various spheres of learning would have seemed a Utopia. Yet this is reality today.

No less impressive are the results achieved in the cultural development of the Hungarian nationality which enjoyed more favourable conditions before the war than others. The Hungarian nationality embarked on the phase of socialist construction with an incipient working class and a nucleus of its own intelligentsia. A group of intellectuals and representatives of Hungarian workers rallied round the literary review *Híd*, and took an active part in the People's Liberation War at the time when Horthy's Hungarian troops occupied Vojvodina. The Hungarian nationality has many cultural institutions of its own today. The cultural efforts and results are part and parcel of the whole Yugoslav achievements. The Hungarian drama in Subotica operates within the framework of the common theatre, while the programmes of Radio Novi Sad are broadcast in Hungarian and in the languages of the other nationalities living in Vojvodina. Many books and textbooks in Hungarian are issued by the Forum publishing enterprise in Novi Sad, while about a dozen Hungarian language papers and reviews appear regularly in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. Furthermore, the radio station in Murska Sobota (Slovenia), in an area inhabited also by Hungarians, broadcasts a Hungarian language programme. The Hungarians living in Croatia issue their own fortnightly review.

Although much smaller numerically, the other nationalities had a similar path of development in the post-war period. All, without exception, even those which number less than 20,000 have their own papers, reviews, publishing houses and instruction at an elementary level in their native language. In conformity with Yugoslavia's cultural policy, the nationalities are treated as important factors of understanding and co-operation between the Yugoslav and neighbouring peoples, while affording complete freedom and even encouraging the nationalities to develop lively cultural and other social ties with their country of origin. Such a policy has yielded extremely favourable results in some cases and contributed to the promotion of friendship and good neighbourly relations.

A series of cultural institutions of the nationalities—amateur societies, cultural clubs, libraries, publishing houses, and so on—has developed

continuously during the past two and a-half decades. Such cultural events as the traditional festivals of the Ruthenian nationality in Ruski Krstur, the Slovak festival in Backi Petrovac, the Brotherhood Evenings in Prizren, a joint manifestation of Albanians, Serbs and Montenegrins living in Kosovo Province, and others, have acquired an enviable reputation and tradition. The development of libraries—with books in the languages of the nationalities—has been markedly successful. Last but not least, let us mention the international reputation acquired by the naive artists of two nationalities—Slovak and Romanian. The naive peasant artists from the Slovak village of Kovacica and the peasant women from the Romanian village of Uzdin have had several highly successful and widely appreciated exhibitions in Europe and the United States.

All nationalities are not faced with identical problems of development, however. Those confronting the Albanian nationality are the most acute. These problems are due not to a discriminatory attitude toward Albanian culture and cultural requirements, but to the insufficient development of the region, which also affects the other nationalities living in it—the Serbian, Montenegrin and Turkish nationalities. It is stipulated by the Statute of the special Federal Fund for Assistance to the Insufficiently Developed Regions that part of this assistance must be used for cultural purposes. Funds for the cultural development of the nationalities are also provided by special legislative prescriptions.

Elements of cultural equality

If asked what is the most positive element of contemporary cultural policy and its most outstanding achievement, I believe that the overwhelming majority of cultural workers would answer that this is cultural equality. For those living in nationally homogeneous communities this may seem a purely academic issue, but those who have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted, in multi-national communities, with the manifold dangers latent in situations of this kind, of the subjection of culture to national intolerance and internecine strife are well aware of the paramount value of this principle.

However, it should be pointed out that a realistic approach would necessarily have to include a reference to the dilemmas for which no satisfactory answer has yet been found. One of the major problems, whose influence is of a permanent nature, is that the development of the national cultures in Yugoslavia is still fairly uneven. A lot of time and effort will be required to do away with the sombre heritage of the past and enable some national cultures and cultures of the nationalities to attain the level required for the integration of their creative results in contemporary world cultural processes and the achievement of creative equality as well. Needless to say, this can be done only with the moral and material assistance and support of society and of the other cultures, because equality in the

cultural and political spheres only, and not in the creative field as well, is incomplete and always liable to violations.

Full development of the creative potential of the individual peoples and nationalities, until recently socially and culturally restricted, will therefore take time. This is why, in a community with considerable disparities in cultural levels, general educational standards and in other aspects of contemporary cultural development, it is imperative that the policy pursued should prevent the perpetuation of these differences and preclude their use as arguments for cultural disparagement on the one hand and for arrogance on the other. If not effectively kept in check by society this could lead to the surreptitious revival, in the domain of culture, of the inequality which has been abolished in the spheres of policy and social relations. Cultural equality cannot be achieved merely by pious declarations nor can it become definite and assured once and for all if only formulated by the law and guaranteed by it.

Under conditions marked by the existence of numerous differences in developmental standards, equality of rights has meaning only as a dynamic concept, namely, as a process which implies the persistent effort of society to continuously expand and improve the conditions for the development of the national cultures and cultures of the nationalities, and encourage them materially and socially to achieve two basic objectives: (a) to make up, within the shortest possible time, for all they have been deprived of by their adverse historical destiny, and (b) to develop those creative forms which will make it possible for them to take part effectively in contemporary world cultural processes.

Contemplated from this aspect, the cultural development of the peoples and nationalities that form the Yugoslav community has been neither simple nor linear. The disparities in development levels together with some bureaucratic tendencies which have not yet been wholly overcome are a source of potential excesses. Polemics on the literary language conducted by Croatian and Serbian writers from nationalist positions, heated discussions on cultural priorities and on the cultural contributions of the individual nations are not infrequent. Old antagonisms reappear from time to time in novel form and under different guises and pretexts. These differences of view have not sprung forth at present, however, having existed in latent form for some time already, but were able to gain only expression as a result of the growing democratization of society.

Certain tendencies to undervalue the cultural efforts made and results achieved by other peoples also appear from time to time. The excessively liberal policy toward the nationalities is criticized from covert nationalist positions and the problem of representation in the domain of international cultural exchange has also tended to call forth certain antagonisms and rivalries. The arguments and counter-arguments in favour of an individual theatre, gallery, music troupe or artist from one or the other republic were not infrequently but a veil for nationalist narrowness of outlook. Such

untoward phenomena were also enhanced by the mode of distribution and the centralized organization of these exchanges. They also derived from the so-called 'Statist relations' as commonly referred to in the Yugoslav political jargon. These phenomena became far less frequent after the decentralization of international cultural exchanges and the revision of the mode of financing.

Certain tendencies of the national cultures and of the nationalities to fence themselves in are also noticeable. The origins of these phenomena are essentially the same. They aim at relying on local criteria and so avoid having to put creative ability and results to the test in a broader Yugoslav or international context. This is a manifestation of a provincial and bureaucratic mentality which does not wish to be disturbed in its economic, cultural or any other aspects. And conversely, this bureaucratic mentality and more or less covert monolithism would hinder much that deserves to be presented to the Yugoslav cultural public from being translated from the languages of the nationalities and cut down information about the cultural achievements and development of the nationalities.

These are more or less marginal phenomena, however, which cannot jeopardize the mainstream of cultural processes determined by self-managerial relations which guarantee the political and cultural equality of rights of people and nationalities in the Yugoslav community.

Practical aspects

Administrative and autonomous (self-managerial) structures

Mutual relations and jurisdiction in the cultural sphere are determined by two distinctive features of the Yugoslav socio-economic community, namely, the communal system and self-management. The territory of each republic and of both provinces is divided into communes which usually consist of one or more urban centres (with 30,000 to 100,000 inhabitants) and a number of villages which gravitate to these centres. There are no hierarchical relations of responsibility between the communes, provinces, republics and federal organs, since all common problems are dealt with by 'social pacts'.

Most direct interests of citizens are manifested within the commune (i.e. the local communities) to which many responsibilities have devolved as a result of decentralization. The number of common needs that appear at republic and provincial level is comparatively small. Only those of the most general nature have remained within federal jurisdiction.

THE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT

The assemblies are the basic holders of power at communal, republic and federal level. Apart from the deputies elected by all citizens to the federal, republic and provincial assemblies and to the assemblies of the larger towns there are also special chambers whose members are elected only by the people employed in the sector of activity concerned, i.e., economics, social welfare and public health, education and culture. Deputies to the latter chamber are elected by all persons employed in cultural, scientific, educational and art institutions and by those who, regardless of whether employed or not, have the status of artists. No measure referring to culture, science and education can be passed without the approval of this chamber.

It may discuss problems pertaining to education and culture independently and adopt recommendations and conclusions. However, laws are passed in conjunction by the chamber of education and culture and by the chamber of each republic (whose deputies are elected by all citizens). There are only two chambers in most communes—one elected by all citizens, and the chamber of the economic and social services which is elected only by persons employed in these sectors. A number of deputies to the latter are elected from cultural institutions.

All assemblies have their executive organs. The executive organ in the republic is the executive council (government), elected from among the deputies, one of whose vice-presidents or members is responsible for science, education and culture. The former ministries of education, culture and physical culture are now called secretariats and are invested with the function of administrative organs of the assembly (at federal, republic and provincial level). The secretariats differ from the former ministries in that they have more limited administrative powers and that they do not decide on the allocation of funds and on the financing of cultural institutions and activities. They are required to ensure the enforcement of the law and legislative prescriptions, the fulfilment of the social plans and the implementation of the individual programmes and other measures. They have expert services headed by administrative officers and counsellors for the individual sectors. These services, study and analyse the development in the individual branches of culture and education. They also submit reports to the executive council and propose the enactment of regulations and other measures. The republic and provincial secretaries for education and culture submit reports to the assembly and are expected, together with the vice-president of the executive council or executive council member responsible for education, science and culture, to answer deputies' questions on these matters. The republic secretary is not a deputy, but an official appointed by the assembly, and a co-equal member of the Executive Council in discussion of problems relating to education, science and culture. The powers of the senior administrative government departments with regard to the subordinate ones are limited to the general right of supervision over the enforcement of the law and the interpretation of the individual regulations. Each secretariat is accountable only to the assembly that formed it and not to the 'higher' secretariat.

DIVISION OF JURISDICTION

In cultural matters, the Federal Assembly is responsible for the basic laws except for those relating to copyright. These laws are not enforced directly, as they merely provide a framework for the republic laws that are applied in practice. The Federal Assembly has so far passed general laws on the protection of cultural monuments, publishing enterprises, newspaper enterprises, motion pictures, sound broadcasting institutions and archive

materials. It has also enacted special laws on the Yugoslav State Archives, the press, the institution of the AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, the supreme political body during the People's Liberation War) Award, and the establishment of the Mosa Pijade Fund for the promotion of the visual arts.

In the absence of a federal law on the subject, the republics are authorized to enact laws regulating the individual cultural activities themselves. Since 1967 this right has also been vested in both of the autonomous provinces. To date republics have passed laws regarding libraries, museums, archives, theatre and drama institutions, the protection of cultural monuments (supplements to the federal law), the protection of nature and wildlife, the film tax, awards and prizes for outstanding achievement in art. The financing of cultural activity is regulated by special republic laws and regulations (see below).

The Federal Council for Education and Culture as well as the republic and provincial secretariats differ from conventional ministries in that their role in decision-making is far more restricted and in that they are devoid of powers as regards the financing of cultural institutions and activities. The Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture was abolished in 1966 and the Federal Council for Education and Culture set up in its place as an organ of the Federal Assembly. The new body is invested with social rather than administrative functions. The functions of 'cultural authority' have been assumed in part by the communities of culture which are headed by elective bodies (see next paragraph), by various expert organizations and by the cultural institutions and organizations themselves.

FORMS OF AUTONOMOUS LIAISON AND DECISION-MAKING

Different factors directly and indirectly influence decision-making in culture. Apart from the assemblies and their executive bodies there are also the cultural communities (autonomous associations which allocate the resources of the funds for the financing of cultural activity), commissions for foreign cultural relations, cultural organizations, art associations, professional associations and central services. The activity and role of the cultural communities was examined in the paragraph on the financing of cultural activity, so that only the functions of cultural organizations, artists' associations and the central services will now be outlined here.

All members acquire certain rights with regard to social insurance and retirement pension and are entitled to tax exemptions and other facilities. Although they do not pass decisions directly, the associations state their views on all proposed decisions regarding artistic activity and culture in general, from draft laws to the programmes of cultural communities or international cultural exchange schemes. Artists' associations also influence decisions on cultural affairs directly through the artist-deputies in

the federal, republic and provincial assemblies and through their delegates in the commissions and executive committees of the cultural communities, the commissions of the republic and provincial secretariats (e.g., the commission for the regulation of the term of work required of artists for eligibility to retirement pension, for the allocation of studios and flats, for scholarships and fellowships) and also take part in various juries for the award of prizes.

The conduct of cultural policy is also influenced in much the same manner, although on a slightly broader scale, by the educational and cultural communities. These have been set up in all republics although they may differ in name (the Educational Assembly in Croatia, the Union of Cultural Educational Organizations in Slovenia). They unify and coordinate the activities of all organizations and institutions concerned—from the most esoteric to the most numerous and popular (the workers' and people's universities, amateur societies, culture clubs and mass organizations for the propagation of culture and the arts, such as the young music lovers' societies for example). No major decision relating to culture is taken at any level without first consulting these organization which, in many cases, act autonomously and take the initiative for the adoption of many decisions and laws intended for the regulation of individual problems—primarily in the sphere of cultural activity among the masses and the cultural development of the rural areas. The mass organizations (the Trade Union Confederation of Yugoslavia, youth organizations, the Socialist Alliance, etc.), which have their own committees and commissions for the study, deliberation and proposal of solutions for problems of cultural development, also exert an indirect influence on decision-making. They also discuss cultural problems from various aspects and adopt conclusions and recommendations on these matters.

Professional associations which have developed conspicuously during the past few years also play an important part in the regulation of professional affairs. These include republic communities of professional theatres, libraries, archives, museums, and institutes for the protection of cultural monuments. All are independent and may apply directly to the executive councils and assemblies concerned for the solution of specific problems. While the vocational and art associations are primarily concerned with the protection of the professional interests of their members, these communities foster the interests of their institutions and strive for the improvement of organizational and professional standards. Their representatives take part in the adoption of all decisions relating to the activities and position of their member institutions and the experts they employ. In Croatia these activities are unified by the republic councils whose work and jurisdiction are regulated by law.

These are forms of autonomous liaison based on common professional and vocational interests. There are also other forms of association on a territorial basis, such as the inter-communal and regional cultural communities

and inter-communal cultural organizations, various non-institutional forms of inter-communal compacts on the basis of common interest, e.g., the joint financing of individual cultural institutions, cultural activities, etc. Particular insistence has recently been laid on these forms of integration with a view to eliminating the fairly marked tendencies toward fragmentation of action and programmes and an excessive compartmentalization, on a territorial basis, which precludes rational organization and markedly weakens the impact of cultural effort. These forms of association calling for joint decision-making are also faced with various difficulties, often of a para-cultural nature (in order to do away with fragmentation in culture, it must first be abolished in the economy and in the organization of administration).

Lastly, another form of autonomous association and partnership aims at directly satisfying cultural needs: the work organizations associate with a cultural institution to form an organization to cater for their common needs. The Belgrade Theatre Commune, headed by the National Theatre and in which several dozen work collectives from Belgrade are enrolled, is a case in point. These forms of association, which are still fairly rare, are stimulated by new forms of financing. It may reasonably be expected that they will soon play a more important part in cultural life.

INTERNAL AUTONOMOUS DECISION-MAKING

Another form of decision-making of major importance should also be described briefly, i.e. decision-making within the cultural institution itself—internal self-management. Every cultural institution has its own administrative, technical and self-managing organs. Let us take a theatre for example. There is a director-general, an art administrative and financial manager, a professional board, repertory board, etc. There are also the organs of self-management, namely the theatre council and management board as the executive organ of the council. Both bodies are elected by the members of the collective for a two-year term of office. The number of members in the council and managing board depends on the size of the collective and is determined by a statute, which must be approved by the council. Apart from those elected by the collective, some members of the theatre council are nominated by the community concerned. In institutions of republic or provincial rank, these council members are nominated by the founders, i.e., the republic or provincial executive council. If the institution has been established at a local level, the delegate members of the council are appointed by the city assembly. The institution is entitled to submit a list of candidates, chosen from among the distinguished artists and cultural workers, to the organs responsible for the appointment of delegate members.

The theatre director is a member of the council by virtue of his office.

It is incumbent on him under the law to draw the attention of the council to all decisions that are at variance with the law. In certain cases he may hold up the execution of such decisions pending definite adjudication of the matter by the organ responsible for the supervision of legality (the executive organ of the city, the republic or provincial assembly concerned, depending on the level at which the institution was founded). The council may set up various commissions—finance, personnel policy, programme, and so on. A repertoire board is the professional consultative body which helps the art and theatre directors and gives its views and proposals regarding plays proposed for inclusion in the repertoire.

The members of the council appointed by the local or republic assembly may deliberate only on problems of a general character. All other problems pertaining directly to relations within the institution and its mode of operation (remuneration, allocation of flats, job evaluation, work relations, etc.) are decided by the regular council members only, i.e. without the participation of the delegate members. All members of the collective are entitled to attend the sessions of the council and to put forward their views and proposals, but do not have the right to vote. Should the majority in the collective not agree with the work and decisions of the council, they may recall it before the expiry of its term of office and hold elections for a new council.

ORGANIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

Yugoslavia is developing co-operation in education, science and culture with exactly a hundred countries. The organization of international co-operation has been decentralized in conformity with a joint decision of the Federal Assembly and Federal Executive Council, so that all socio-political institutions and organizations are completely independent in the establishment of educational-cultural co-operation with foreign countries in keeping with their possibilities and requirements.

The organization of this co-operation and the role of co-ordinator has been entrusted to the Federal Commission for Foreign Cultural Relations and to similar commissions in the republics and autonomous provinces. The Federal Commission is responsible for cultural schemes of nation-wide importance while all other forms of co-operation belong to the jurisdiction of the republic and provincial commissions. The Federal Commission makes programme and other arrangements with foreign countries as representative of the interests and requirements of the republics, and of the cultural and educational institutions and organizations. The President of the Federal Commission is appointed, as a paid official, by the Federal Executive Council which also appoints the fifteen members of the Commission from among the ranks of cultural workers and scholars proposed by the republics and autonomous provinces.

The republic commissions (the establishment of the commissions in the provinces is still pending) have a different status within the framework of the republic administrations. Some commissions actually form part of or are attached to the republic executive councils (Slovenia and Serbia), others are organs of the assembly (Croatia), still others form part of the republic administration (Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina). In some republics the commission presidents are paid officials (civil servants) appointed by the executive councils. This is not the case in others. In Slovenia, for example, the Commission President is a member of the Executive Council. The commission members (apart from the president all republic commissions also have fifteen members like the Federal Commission) are appointed by the executive councils except in Bosnia-Herzegovina where this is done by the republic assembly. In Serbia, half of the commission members (the President and seven members) are appointed by the Executive Council while the remaining eight members are delegated by scientific, cultural and educational institutions and organizations. There are also expert-technical services in some commissions, while in others these affairs are dealt with by the republic secretariats for education and culture. The commissions are financed from the republic budgets (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro) or jointly from the funds and budgets (Serbia, Slovenia and Croatia).

International cultural exchanges are most often financed from several interested sources, e.g., a guest performance, arranged under a bilateral arrangement, of a Yugoslav opera abroad. The operas of Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, Skopje, Sarajevo, Novi Sad and other towns may compete for this foreign visit, stating the opera they intend to perform, whether their application is endorsed by the republic or provincial cultural community and if they are in a position to contribute to the joint financing of this exchange (i.e., the guest performance abroad and the return visit of the foreign opera to Yugoslavia). The applications are examined by the expert committee of the Federal Commission which then submits to the Commission a proposal based on the evaluation of the quality of the individual performances. In case the chances are more or less even according to these criteria, the opera which has so far had no opportunity of winning recognition abroad will be given preference.

In some cases (a practice which is gaining ever greater frequency as a result of decentralization) institutions from the individual republics submit joint proposals to the Federal Commission regarding the programmes to be included in exchange agreements. Views are exchanged and tentative exchange programmes drafted in the course of preliminary contacts with the foreign institution or group. If agreement is reached the event is financed by several republic commissions in conjunction with the Federal Commission.

This system has greatly contributed to the expansion of international cultural exchanges and to the development of new forms of co-operation.

However, it has also given rise to certain problems. The intricate procedure of evaluating and harmonizing the interests of the different participants in international cultural exchanges requires a radical change in the method of programme drafting and in the technique of concluding agreements and conventions. The entire procedure must first be completed and only then can the preparation of the programme begin. Greater flexibility in the preparation of long-term programmes is also required.

The problem of selectivity in a situation when practically everyone can take part in an exchange also presents certain difficulties. How can the country and the individual republics be sure that they will always be properly and adequately represented? Administrative controls have long since been abolished in practice, while the indirect influence wielded by the institutions is not always effective enough. It has even happened in some cases that tourist and other para-cultural motives have prevailed on both sides, i.e. among guests and hosts alike. Such tendencies, however, seem inevitable.

Difficulties are also called forth by the fact that foreign currency problems tend to act as an inhibitory factor in cultural exchanges. Artists whose fees are paid in the currencies of the countries concerned often have difficulty in transferring their earnings and converting them into their national currency. The diversity of customs and other regulations is another restrictive factor.

Owing to the increasingly frequent exhibitions of valuable works of art organized under cultural exchange programmes, problems of insurance, security and customs formalities are assuming ever greater importance. This 'commercial' aspect of cultural exchanges has become so acute that it requires and fully deserves special attention on the part of Unesco, which might consider convening a special conference on the practical problems entailed by the constantly increasing international cultural exchanges.

Forms of financing

The funds for cultural activity have been decentralized in Yugoslavia. Except for a part of the international cultural exchanges (events of an all-Yugoslav importance) cultural activities are not directly financed by the Federation. The Federation takes part, but indirectly, in the financing of cultural activity through the fund for assistance to the insufficiently developed regions, a certain percentage of which is earmarked for cultural development. This is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the communes, provinces and republics. To date, only two republics, Serbia and Croatia, have passed special laws on the financing of cultural activity. Similar regulations are in preparation in the other republic—specific legislative proposals having been completed and put forward for public discussion in Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro. There are considerable

variations as regards the practical solutions adopted by the individual republics, but the fundamental objectives are the same: (a) the adjustment of cultural development to general social development; (b) the financing of the social needs in this domain, and (c) the establishment of permanent and independent sources of revenue over a longer period of time. Work on the establishment of a new system of financing of culture and art is in progress in all republics; and funds and agencies which allocate and channel the resources for the financing of these activities independently and in conformity with publicly chosen and adopted programmes are being established.

THE FUNDS AND COMMUNITIES

A new mode of financing was legally formulated in Serbia and Croatia in 1968. The laws passed by these two republics are based on the premise of the decentralization and democratization of cultural activity, on the further development of self-management and on the full respect of the principle of remuneration according to results. They affirm the interdependence of economic and cultural development and make public understanding of the democratic forms of decision-making imperative. They also call for more stable and permanent sources of financing which should in turn allow long-term cultural policies and a broader social effort to ensure their implementation. The funds established under these laws (in Croatia) and the cultural communities invested with the same function (in Serbia) mark a turning point in the emancipation of culture from budgetary-administrative relations.

The funds and communities constitute autonomous associations which have been set up in every commune. (In some cases several communes pool their resources and form a common fund or community.) There is a republic fund (community) in Serbia and two special communities of the autonomous provinces. The organizational structure of the funds and communities is laid down by law and is uniform for all. The assembly, consisting of delegates of cultural institutions and organizations, economic enterprises, educational and scientific institutions, social and other organizations, is the highest organ of each community. The assembly adopts the statute, the long-term programme and financial plan, and determines the basic principles and criteria for the allocation of funds. The executive organ elected at the assembly allocates the funds among the applicants through a public competition and in accordance with the proposals of the expert commissions, which act in an advisory capacity.

The communal communities (and also the republic and communal funds in Croatia) operate along the same lines. In 1968-69 there were 971 persons in the managing boards of the communal funds in Croatia, of whom 254 were appointed by the communal assemblies, 672 were representatives of work, expert and social organizations, while 45 were listed as 'miscel-

laneous'. Among the delegate members, accounting for two-thirds of total membership, the majority consists of representatives of cultural institutions (20.7 per cent), followed by the representatives of professional and social organizations (17.2 per cent) and economic organizations (16.5 per cent).

The republic cultural community in Serbia has a two-fold function—it is directly engaged in the financing of activities of interest for the republic as a whole and through expense-sharing, indirectly finances important activities at communal and provincial level. The communal and inter-communal communities finance all cultural institutions and various cultural events on their territory (concerts, exhibitions, etc.). The republic community finances all national institutions and the activities of the specialized services and institutions (the institutes for the protection of cultural monuments, institutes for nature conservation, the Film Institute, the Institute for the Study of Cultural Development, etc.). The main cultural schemes in the republic are also financed by the community, which takes part in the financing of all Yugoslav and international events, provides the funds required for republic awards conferred on outstanding works of art, subsidizes cultural and art reviews and magazines and the publication of literary work of particular value. The community also extends assistance to art associations and effects payment of social insurance contributions for freelance or independent artists, and takes part, in conjunction with the provincial communities, in the financing of the cultural institutions and activities of the nationalities. The republic fund for the development of cultural activity in Croatia and the funds in other republics have similar functions.

There is a special system for the financing of film production and cinematography in all republics. The funds are raised by a special law on film contributions (tax) which is included in the admission fee.¹ In Croatia, part of this levy is retained by the communes and invested in the extension of the cinema network, purchase of equipment, development of motion picture production, research, etc. (There is a special Film Institute, financed by the republic, in Serbia.) For every film made and shown the producers receive from the republic community a subsidy proportionate to the box office receipts. The best films, regardless of box office success, are awarded premiums which provide an incentive for the sustained improvement of quality standards. Such film shows are entitled to a tax reduction in Slovenia. The films are appraised by the expert commission of the community and the best ones are recommended for premiums. Both film production enterprises and independent groups of movie-makers bid for subsidies and premiums. About a dozen films have been made

1. In Montenegro, according to the law on film tax, the viewers pay 20 per cent of the admission fee towards this levy. The resources thus obtained accrue to the republican fund for the promotion of cultural activity and may be used exclusively for the development of cinematography.

Practical aspects

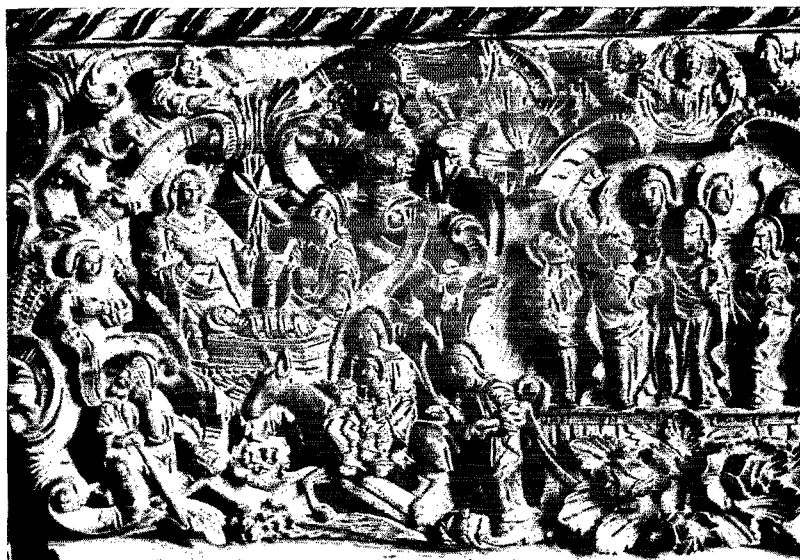
along these lines during the past few years by film-makers' work communities, which operate as teams and are dissolved when the film is completed. The majority were granted subsidies and special allowances.

INVESTMENTS AND DISTRIBUTION

An inquiry conducted by the Secretariat for Education and Culture in Croatia two years after the introduction of new forms of financing in Croatia and Serbia revealed the following. Cultural expenditures in this republic totalled 114 million dinars in 1967. The following year, when the funds were established, cultural expenditures rose to 156 million, having increased 36 per cent. The planned figure for these expenditures in 1969 was 191 million or 67 and 22 per cent more than in 1967 and 1968, respectively. The structure of total expenditures, including outlay from the republic fund and resources of work organizations, indicates an increase of investments. (Investments accounted for 6 per cent of total expenditures in 1967, 16 per cent in 1968, and 19 per cent in 1969.) Similar trends have also been noted in Serbia and in the other republics. Investments in Serbia are fairly uneven (68.5 million in 1965, 60.8 million in 1966, 48.6 million in 1967, 86.7 million in 1969).

In Croatia the communes are authorized by law to withhold part of the film tax and part of the tax on wines and spirits and to use the funds thus obtained for the financing of cultural activity. (In Serbia the communes have been authorized by the republic to appropriate part of the tax on alcoholic drinks and luxury goods while the film tax accrues wholly to the revenue of the republic community.) Expectations that the distribution of these levies would result in an increase in the total funds for cultural requirements in all communes have not been wholly fulfilled. Under the pressure of various other needs and now in a position to count on this supplementary revenue, some communes actually reduced cultural expenditures, whose volume remained the same or, in some cases, even declined. A similar tendency has also been noted in Serbia. Cultural expenditures increased appreciably in some communes, however, and this in turn led to the preparation of ambitious cultural development programmes. It is thus difficult in practice to provide a sound financial basis for cultural activities.

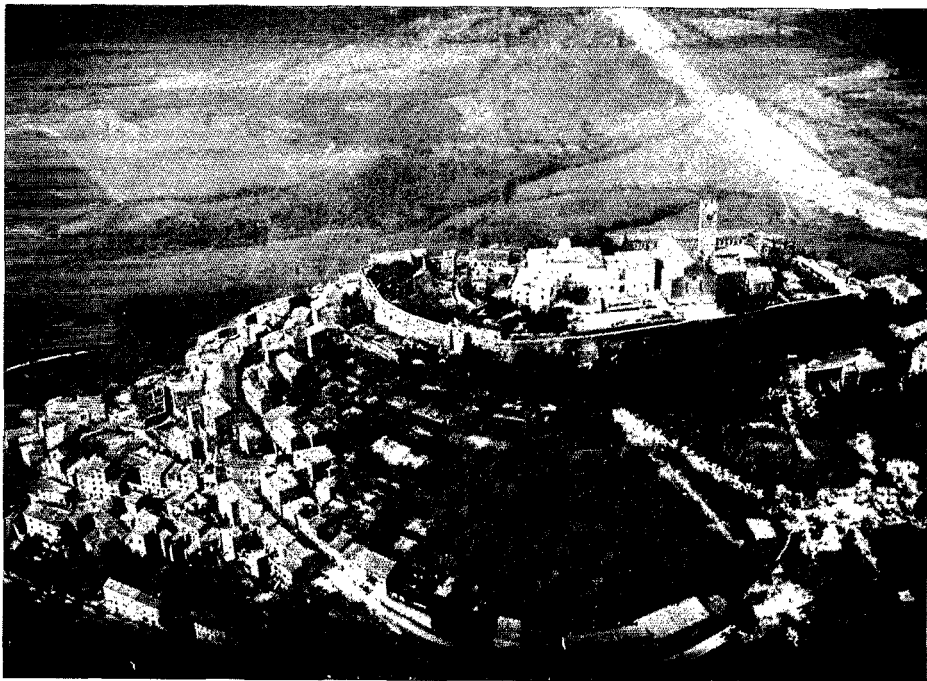
The demand, widely endorsed in cultural circles, that the communes earmark a certain percentage of their budget for cultural requirements is part and parcel of the policy of ensuring permanent and stable sources of income for the financing of culture. The representatives of some cultural institutions even went so far as to demand that appropriate legislative action be taken, thus obliging the communes to comply. An automatic system of financing would thus be created which would preclude any arbitrary tendencies and ensure a parallel rise of cultural outlay proportionate to the growth of the economy and national income.



Macedonia. Detail of exquisitely carved iconostasis of the church of St. Saviour in Skopje.
[Photo: Blagoj Drnkov, Skopje.]

Macedonia. A performance of S. Hristic's *Legend of Chrid* by the ballet of the Macedonian National Centre in Skopje.

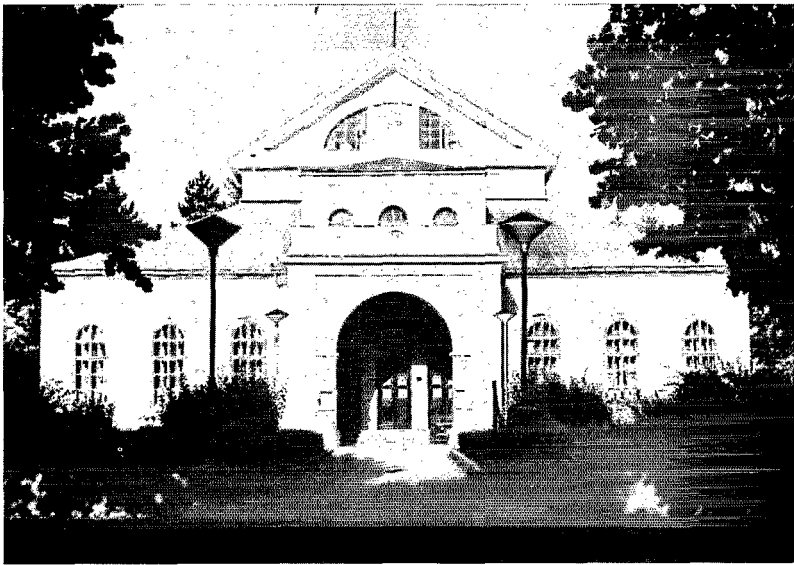




Croatia. One of the twenty-five art colonies in Yugoslavia is situated in the ancient Istrian townlet of Motovun.
[Photo: Agencija za Fotodokumentaciju, Zagreb.]

Serbia. Ivo Andric, the Yugoslav writer who won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1962.

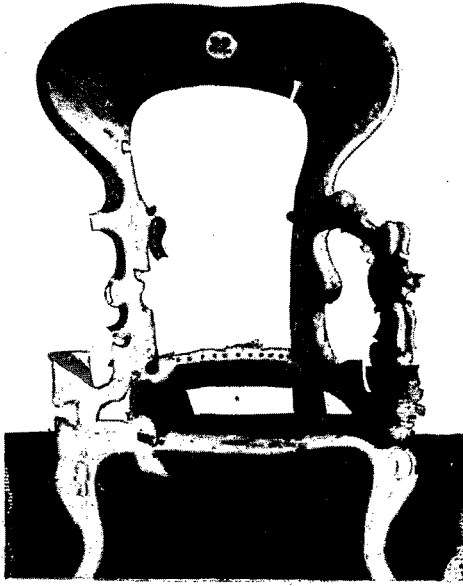




Montenegro. The first theatre in Montenegro, built in Cetinje in 1884.

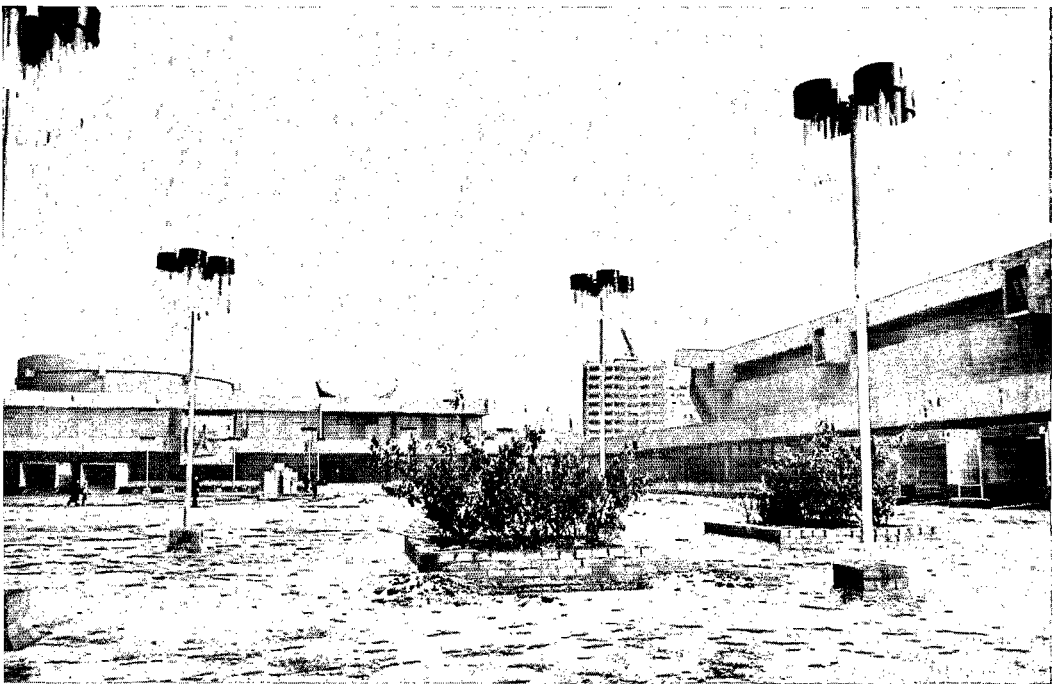
Slovenia. International exhibition *Peace, Humanity and International Friendship*, organized in 1966-67 in the townlet of Slovengradec, at which 200 artists from 50 countries displayed their work. [Photo: Kolosa Joze, Ljubljana.]





Slovenia. *The Chair*, an engraving by Janez Bernik which won the Grand Prix at the eighth International Biennale of Graphic Art in Ljubljana. [Photo: Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana.]

Bosnia-Herzegovina. The newly built Skenderija Youth Centre in Sarajevo. [Photo: Gojko Sikimic, Sarajevo.]



This idea was not adopted because it is at variance with the principle of communal autonomy and also because, in practice, it would fail to yield the results desired (the appropriation of a uniform percentage can mean two entirely different things in an advanced commune and in an insufficiently developed one). The practice in most communes of determining the criteria for the financing of culture for a period of one year only, thus rendering the long-range planning of cultural development virtually impossible, has also caused considerable difficulty in the creation of stable and permanent sources of income for the financing of culture.

The problem of the insufficiently developed regions where the communes cannot finance cultural development from their own resources is also very acute. In Serbia, differences in the relative share of cultural expenditures in total budget outlay may range from 0.14 per cent to over 15 per cent. (Thus for example 0.18 dinars *per capita* are spent on culture in some communes, as against 55 dinars, or three hundred times more, in others.) These disparities are being levelled out to a certain extent by the funds for the insufficiently developed regions and which cater for requirements whose satisfaction is guaranteed by the Constitution. According to the law, the Republic of Serbia guarantees 6 dinars a year *per capita* to the insufficiently developed communes for the activity of libraries, archives, preservation of cultural monuments and conservation of nature. (Communes with monuments of particular cultural and historic interest are guaranteed 8 dinars *per capita*.) But these corrections, an expression of socialist solidarity, are not enough. Under conditions of decentralization, where everyone is inevitably preoccupied with his own affairs, this problem has emerged to the forefront of attention.

Another form of disparity, namely the distribution of funds among the individual cultural sectors, has also been subjected to criticism during the past few years. It is considered that the proportions established fifteen and even twenty years ago no longer correspond to actual needs.

To illustrate the point, let us examine the percentage share of the individual sectors in Serbia in 1968: cultural schemes, 26 per cent; theatres, 24; cultural institutions, 14; libraries, 12; museums, 10; archives, 5; preservation of cultural monuments and conservation of nature, 5; workers' and people's universities (cultural activities), 4. The figures for Slovenia in the same year (1968) were: theatres, 36.7 per cent; museums and art galleries, 17.3; technical, scientific and school libraries, 11.5; public libraries, 8.5; philharmonic orchestras, 6, etc. It is considered that this structural pattern, which has not changed during the past five years, is still not wholly free of budgetary-type considerations. Thus, for example, although mentioned in public discussion as priority institutions, libraries are still allotted less than half of the funds received by theatres.¹

1. In 1967 the cultural institutions in Serbia earned 70 per cent of the funds for their

NEW FORMS OF FINANCING

Although cultural funds increased appreciably in recent years, they are still far from sufficient to satisfy investment requirements fully. The limited ability of the institutions to finance investments from their own resources is best illustrated by comparing the relative share provided by the budget, the contributions of economic organizations and the income of the institutions, in Serbia, over the past five years.

In the category of museums, art galleries and institutes for the protection of cultural monuments and for the conservation of nature, 87 per cent of expenditures was covered by the budget, 6 per cent by contributions of economic organizations, 4 per cent by tickets and 3 per cent by other income. In the case of libraries, 94 per cent of expenditure was budget financed, 6 per cent by economic organizations, membership dues, and 3 per cent from other sources. In the case of theatres and related institutions the pattern was as follows: 83 per cent budget financed, 2 per cent financed by economic organizations, 7 per cent by box office receipts and 8 per cent from other sources. The situation is far more satisfactory in the case of culture clubs, workers' and people's universities and amateur societies (23-36 per cent budget financed, 27-33 per cent by economic organizations, 37-44 per cent covered from their own sources of revenue).

All major investments were financed from special sources, because the regular funds available were insufficient for that purpose. In Serbia, the necessary funds for the construction of a new building for the national library were provided by special legislative prescriptions and the construction of the new opera will be financed in similar fashion. In Macedonia, the funds required for a major investment scheme—the construction of twenty-five culture clubs in various towns of the republic, scheduled for completion in 1976—have been ensured by a special law adopted by the Macedonian Assembly. The floating of an internal loan was proposed in Croatia as an alternative for financing the construction of four cultural institutions of national importance (the National and University Library building and the Croatia Archives in Zagreb, the Museum of Religious Art in Zadar and the Croatian Archeological Museum in Zagreb). Work organizations which also bore a large share of the expenses involved by the reconstruction of the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb would also contribute to the realization of this project. The construction of the National Theatre in Zenica (Bosnia-Herzegovina) was begun in 1970 and

activity in the market (through the individual consumers or collective beneficiaries) while obtaining the remaining 30 per cent from the budget, i.e. the cultural communities. The sound and television broadcasting stations earned 96 per cent of their income from subscriptions and advertisements, i.e., in the market, the cinemas 99 per cent, the workers' and people's universities 73, libraries 7, museums and archives 12, theatres 18, institutes for the protection of cultural monuments 24, etc.

the greater part of the expenses involved are being financed by the local iron and steel mills.

The joint financing of capital projects has become increasingly frequent in recent years and constitutes a form of integration of culture and society and is also conducive to the establishment of closer and stronger ties with the economy. Thus, for example, 50 million dinars for the reconstruction of the Croatian National Theatre were obtained from various sources—the republic and city budget, economic and work organizations, bank credit loans, the resources of the theatre and individual contributions. The construction of the big culture club in the Bor mining area, which is already well under way, the reconstruction of the theatre in Zaječar, the construction of the Gallery of Naive Art in Hlebine (for which financial assistance has been received from the Podravka factory in Koprivnica), the construction of a culture club in Ivanić Grad (partly financed by the petroleum industry), the construction of culture clubs in the Pula commune (for which the funds required were provided in part by the Uljanik shipyard), the construction of the culture club in Vranje (partly financed by the local textile mills), the art exhibition in Slovenjgradec (jointly financed by the communes of Ljubljana, Kranj, Skofja Loka), the restoration of the medieval castle near Novo Mesto (financed by the Krka pharmaceutical factory), etc., all provide examples of effective joint financing schemes. Various economic organizations have also extended financial assistance for the construction of many television and sound broadcasting stations and relay stations.

The 'dinar plus dinar' form of joint financing, introduced by the funds for the promotion of cultural activity, have proven extremely effective and stimulating. Under this scheme it is incumbent on communes which bid for investments or assistance in the development of individual cultural activities to demonstrate that they are willing to do their utmost, i.e., draw on their own resources as much as possible and not rely entirely on outside help. The 'dinar plus dinar' scheme carries a strong psychological impact, since it mobilizes the local communities and tends to foster a positive attitude to cultural requirements. The only shortcoming is that it places the less developed communities in an unequal position. The more affluent communities are invariably in a position to appropriate larger funds for culture, which means that in public biddings for credit loans and other funds they stand a better chance. But this weakness is largely offset by a 'differentiated approach' whereby the possibilities of each community are duly taken into account when decisions are made. In other words, the 'dinar plus dinar' scheme actually may provide in some cases for as much as 3 to 5 dinars per local dinar and a ratio only of 0.5 or 0.2 : 1 in the more advanced communities. 'Dinar plus dinar' is consequently only a popular term used to denote this form of joint financing and should not be taken literally.

The role of work organizations and individual spending in cultural

financing has also been enhanced of late. The financing or joint financing of cultural programmes by work organizations which obtain a certain number of tickets for their collectives in return has also become increasingly frequent in recent years. The Belgrade Theatre Commune, in which several dozen enterprises are enrolled, has been organized along these lines. This form of association is a step further from the previous practice of buying up tickets for individual performances, since the board of the theatre commune is now in a position to make suggestions concerning the programme and also exerts a certain influence on the work of the individual institution. This has proven mutually beneficial in practice. Sizeable appropriations for its cultural fund have been made by the Zagreb Electric Tram enterprise (ZET) and various cultural programmes for the workers have been financed therefrom in conjunction with the cultural and art institutions. The Sisak Steel Mills have assumed the patronage of the Croatian Drama Festival and extend financial assistance to the latter, the Belje Industrial Farms have made available an ancient palatial mansion to the Museum of Slavonia, 450,000 dinars have been appropriated by Industrija Import of Titograd for the shooting of the film 'Peter I', while Kompas of Ljubljana and Sava of Kranj are financing the production of individual plays, as is the Jugoslavija Insurance Company of Belgrade. ZET of Zagreb and Podravka of Koprivnica have formed small art galleries by the systematic purchase of pictures, while the May Meetings, a literary event in Nikšić (Montenegro) are financed by the local Trebjesa brewery, etc. In Macedonia the share of trade organizations in the financing of cultural events may account for as much as 30 per cent (the Poetry Evenings in Struga, the Ohrid Summer, the Balkan Folksong and Dance Festival). The production of the opera 'Emperor Samuil' was financed by Tehnometal of Skopje. The Skopje radio and television station also acts as co-financier of various cultural events. Several dozen enterprises from Bosnia-Herzegovina and other republics took part in the financing of the film 'The Battle of the Neretva' dedicated to one of the most dramatic and fateful episodes of the People's Liberation War. The Zagreb Trade Union Council and the Trade Union Council of Belgrade are seriously considering a proposal for the establishment of special funds at city level for the financing of cultural activities of work organizations. Such a concentration of the funds available for this purpose would tend to strengthen the role of work organizations in the framing of cultural policies because the latter would be based on sound material foundations.

This form of emancipation from budget financing is developing at a far more rapid rate than individual spending on cultural requirements which, for reasons already mentioned, is progressing more slowly. The latter form of spending is also on the increase but its relative share in total cultural expenditures is still very small. Publishing enterprises, radio and television stations, the press and other activities which form part of the 'cultural market' and are in a position to cover their expenses to a

large extent or completely by their income earned are an exception. The rapid rise in the number of radio and television subscribers has made it possible for them not only to cover operating expenses but also to finance large-scale investment construction.

They have also become important factors in the launching and financing of various cultural schemes and actions. The Zagreb radio and television station (and this is true also of the other broadcasting centres) has contributed a total of 7 million dinars to the financing of festivals, cultural events, programmes of cultural societies and institutions, encouraged play-writing and have invested heavily in cultural-educational programmes. The standards of cultural consumption depend objectively on the personal standards of living, that is, on the relative share of *per capita* income in national income. Personal income levels are rising steadily and this must inevitably be reflected on cultural spending, but this process is still taking place on a fairly limited scale for the time being. This is partly due to the fact that expenditure on essential and durable consumer goods are still an overriding factor in consumer spending in Yugoslavia. These requirements are still far from satisfied and thus tend to restrict the volume of individual cultural expenditure for some time to come.

An increased share of personal spending in strengthening the material basis of culture largely depends on the scope and intensity of cultural requirements which have still not been developed or differentiated to a sufficient degree. The satisfaction of these requirements largely depends in turn on the effectiveness of the educational system, on the activity of cultural institutions, their ability to attract the public and on the cultural and educational function of the mass media. The passive attitude of cultural institutions to cultural requirements is due to the administrative-budgetary relations which provided no incentive whatsoever for the promotion of 'audience appeal'. But it is no less a result of the inefficiency of these institutions, their failure to study and adjust to the needs of the individual communities and the shortage of competent organizers, financial and other experts in the cultural domain. It is also due to the deeply ingrained reserve and reluctance of cultural workers with regard to the 'commercial and business' aspects of cultural activity and their prejudices concerning the prospects of a 'gratuitous culture' in a community in the throes of intensive development in which many urgent needs still remain to be satisfied.

The new forms and modes of financing are exerting continuous pressure on the cultural institutions, prompting them to become economically active, in other words, to utilize the resources which have hitherto remained dormant or unknown. Some cultural workers are inclined to adopt a sceptical attitude to such an orientation and consider it tantamount to the 'commercialization' of culture. They are aware only of the spontaneous play of market forces in this respect, and yet everything that has been said thus far is based on the assumption of democratic control of the market

by society, namely, on the existence of a market which will encourage and not negate cultural effort.

Three examples from three different sectors of activity vividly illustrate the results which can be achieved by the stimulation of cultural spending. After the introduction of book sales on credit, that is, against payment on an instalment basis, the Art Sales Gallery in Belgrade decided to apply the same policy to the sale of paintings. The number of paintings sold in this manner at auctions organized in various towns of Serbia has since trebled. Acting in conjunction with the Niš Electronics Factory and the Belgrade Associated Bank, the Belgrade Radio and Television Centre made credit loans available for the purchase of sets. This produced a 100 per cent increase in the number of television subscribers. The composition of subscribers has also been changed—workers, who were formerly preceded by office employees are now the largest category. Under an ordinance passed in Croatia in 1968 the sums spent on purchases of original works of art are deductible from income tax. This concession is expected to yield full effect in 1970. Tax differentials on royalties have also been introduced in this republic, the rate being 15 per cent for highly qualified work, and 30 per cent for the rest. Cultural events held during the tourist season such as the Dubrovnik Summer Festival serve much the same purpose. In this respect, and in many others, the interests of culture and business are not at variance.

The system of financing cultural activity has not yet been fully elaborated and perfected. A component which is assuming ever greater importance in contemporary cultural life—namely the integration of the interests *and aims of culture in economic and financial legislation*—is still lacking. Only when this has been achieved can the market be expected to become a selective and reliable instrument of cultural policy and not a factor of blatant commercialization which tends to encourage mediocrity and lower quality standards while inhibiting authentic cultural values.

How creative activity is encouraged by society

Self-managing relations have had a highly stimulative effect on creative activity. Work of very high artistic standard has appeared in literature, motion pictures, and the theatre, while many younger artists have gained national and international repute. Most of these works testify to an active 'committed' attitude to social developments, while not a few testify to a critical view of society and individual aspects of contemporary life which would have formerly provoked a sharp reaction but are considered an entirely normal thing today. Not only do self-managing relations not restrict the critical outlook but actually encourage it, and never require the artist to act as an apologist of the existing state of affairs and given

social system. On the contrary, these relations tend to heighten their sense of personal and artistic responsibility and to enhance their social awareness.

The continuous broadening of artistic freedom (freedom of creativity) has been a dominant feature of the period of development of self-managing relations. The emancipation from the arbitration of committees in affairs of art, in the evaluation of cultural results and the abolition of various bureaucratic restrictions has produced a new social climate favourable to creative activity. Experience has shown, however, that the dangers of restricting freedom of artistic creativity have not been completely eliminated by the abolition of former powers and influence. The creation of various interest groups and the tendency to strengthen the influence of intermediary organizations and institutions, and the influence of so-called 'managers and promoters' require a further effort on the part of society to protect and broaden artistic freedom.

The broader social context within which the attitude to culture and creativity is determined has been dealt with in the chapter on culture and on the new status and position of the human personality in a self-managing community. This part is supplemented by the following review of the forms of direct and indirect encouragement and support of creativity in Yugoslav cultural practice, which may roughly be classed in four categories: (a) regulations governing the legal status and position of artists and creativity; (b) awards and other marks of recognition and distinction; (c) scholarships and other forms of assistance to professional advancement and specialization; (d) material assistance and stimuli (construction of studios, establishment of art colonies, purchases of works of art, allocation of flats, and so on).

LEGAL PRESCRIPTIONS REGULATING THE STATUS AND POSITION OF ARTISTS

The principles formulated above are embodied in practice by the legal prescriptions relating to creative activity and the status of artists, and by various forms of material and social encouragement and incentives to creative activity. The Copyright Law passed by the Federal Assembly in 1968 is based on the principles of the Berne Convention and the Universal Declaration of Copyright; it guarantees the complete protection of the material and moral rights and interests of creative artists and workers. A Law on the Protection of Rights of Performing Artists, Producers of Phonograph Records and Sound Broadcasting Institutions is currently in preparation in conformity with the Convention of Rome. The same principles regarding the protection of creative workers' rights have also been embodied in the Film Law.

Another group of regulations concerns social insurance. The legal regime governing artists' insurance is not the same in all republics. In

Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia artists' social insurance is regulated by contracts between the republic institutes for social insurance and the funds for the promotion of cultural activities, i.e. the newly formed cultural communities. There are no special laws regulating these matters in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro or Macedonia.

In Croatia, artists' social insurance is regulated by law. According to this law, the financial resources required are provided by the republic's fund for the promotion of cultural activity, which concludes a contract on social insurance with the artists' association concerned. Decisions regarding the qualification required (namely the length of time spent in the capacity of artist and cultural worker) are taken by a special commission appointed by the director of the Social Insurance Office with the agreement of the Artists' Community of Croatia. The commission determines the artists' status on the basis of the same criteria as those applied by the artists' association when considering eligibility to membership, i.e. the admission of new members. Artists' social insurance in Slovenia is budget-financed.

In Serbia the insurance contracts are concluded directly between the associations and social insurance office. The commission responsible for the recognition of artists' status is appointed by the republic's secretariat for education and culture. In Slovenia this commission is established by special decree. The extension of social insurance to persons not regularly employed enables them to benefit from all rights deriving from health, old age retirement and disablement insurance. Artists who acquire these rights on this basis enjoy various benefits and facilities. They are entitled to a lower income tax rate and, as distinct from other citizens, their contributions and taxes payable on fees, royalties, etc., are returned to them in indirect form, as these levies accrue to a special fund from which the construction of flats and studios for artists and social insurance payments are financed. As they are not permanently employed anywhere, this category is usually referred to as freelance, free or independent artists. In 1969, for example, 700 artists in Serbia enjoyed this status and enjoyed the corresponding rights, 650 in Croatia and 225 in Slovenia. In Montenegro, contributions for artists' social insurance have been financed since 1966 from the budget of the republic. The number of free artists in Montenegro is subject to considerable fluctuations (there were twenty in 1966 and ten in 1969, mostly painters, sculptors and film workers). Macedonia had seventeen free artists (artists, film workers and writers) in 1969.

Artists of outstanding merit and distinction are eligible to special retirement pensions. According to Articles 36 and 96 of the Basic Law on Retirement Pension Insurance, persons of outstanding merit in the social, scientific and artistic sphere are entitled to special retirement pensions. In Serbia, thirty-two artists enjoyed such pensions in 1969 (in three cases these pensions were paid to the families of deceased artists). Four categories of artists' retirement pensions have been introduced in

Croatia. Painters and sculptors accounted for the greatest number (66 per cent) of free artists enjoying this form of insurance. The most eminent artists in this republic are entitled to special 'parliamentary retirement pensions'. Annual insurance contributions are increasing steadily. In Croatia, for example, contributions for this purpose have been almost doubled during the past two years (868,000 dinars in 1967 and 1,370,000 in 1969).

The aim of artists' social insurance is to ensure the necessary conditions for unhampered creative activity and the recognition of the artists' status in society. It is considered satisfactory on the whole and has proved expedient and useful in practice, even though it also has certain weaknesses and shortcomings. The tendency to apply formal criteria to the recognition of status has made it possible for persons who have failed to win distinction or are no longer active as artists to acquire privileged status.

This is why the possibility of establishing more severe conditions for the acquisition of these rights or even of revising the present list of beneficiaries is being considered in all the republics. The questions arising in this context are as follows. Do all who graduate from the art academies automatically acquire the status of artists? Is it incumbent on society to pay insurance even for those artists whose income is markedly above average or, in some cases, exceptionally so? Does not the present system tend to expand inordinately, thus exerting a heavy strain on the fund and precisely at the expense of those persons who most need such a form of insurance.

AWARDS AND OTHER FORMS OF RECOGNITION

The number and types of awards for outstanding achievements in art have doubled in Yugoslavia during the past ten years. Several hundred awards are available at present, while the total funds probably exceed 10 million dinars. These marks of recognition and tribute are awarded by the federal, republic, provincial and local organs and institutions. There are also many special awards given by cultural and art institutions, publishing enterprises, cultural and social organizations. Most awards are distributed every year on the occasion of anniversaries of recent or past historical events.

SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Fellowships and scholarships constitute a form of assistance which afford artists to upgrade their professional training and become acquainted with the latest trends and developments abroad. The arrangements will be dealt with at greater length in the paragraph on personnel training, so that we shall here provide only the basic data.

Scholarships and fellowships are granted for different periods of time

and for different purposes. They may last from one month, when they are referred to as study trips, to two years. Fellowships for advanced professional training are financed by the funds for the promotion of cultural activity of the individual republics, the Yugoslav Commission for Unesco, by foreign governments through the federal and republic commissions for foreign cultural relations, the 'Moša Pijade' Fund for assistance to artists (named after Moša Pijade the eminent revolutionary, organizer of the armed rising, and artist), the Fulbright Fund, the Ford Foundation, and the Association of Drama Artists. Of a total of 138 fellowships for advanced professional training abroad in 1968-69, under the cultural co-operation arrangements between Yugoslavia and sixteen European countries, sixty-one fellowships with a total duration of 346 months were utilized in culture and art.

In addition, a number of artists benefited from the various funds for advanced professional training. Various exchange schemes were also utilized while several artists obtained scholarships from the institutions in which they were employed (art academies, universities, museums, galleries, etc.).

OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE

There are also various other forms of material assistance and encouragement of creative activity of which, for the sake of brevity, we shall cite only a few. As already stated, a fund from which the construction of artists' flats and studios is financed has been established from the taxes levied on royalties and similar fees. From 1960 to 1970, an average of thirty artists received flats through this fund every year. In the same period, sixty-three studios were built and distributed to sculptors and artists. Five so-called masters' studios (spacious studios for eminent artists in which they also do teaching work and train students), fifty-six studios and sixty works studios for younger artists were built in Croatia. Almost all visual artists in Macedonia received financial assistance for the construction of studios (90 per cent of artists in this republic have their own studios). In Bosnia-Herzegovina funds were pooled by work organizations, the republic and urban communities to form a common fund for the financing of housing and studio construction.

Purchases of works of art are another important form of promoting the visual arts. In Montenegro, these purchases are made by a commission set up by the republic's Secretary for Education, Culture and Science. All the works thus purchased are distributed among the art galleries of the republic in conformity with the proposals made by the Artists' Association. In Serbia, the republic cultural community, which appropriated an average of 720,000 dinars annually for the purchase of works of art during the past few years, is the principal buyer. A special commission of the community consisting of representatives of both artists' associations (the Association

of Painters and Sculptors and the Association of Applied Artists) and of the representatives of the community visits all the major exhibitions and similar events and selects works for purchase. These purchases are financed by the community, on behalf of the Museum of Modern Art in Belgrade (part of the funds are provided by the museum), for the Sales Gallery and the Academy of Art and Sculpture (which exclusively buys the work of young artists). There are also 'advance purchases' under contracts drawn up between the community and the individual artist. Such contracts are usually made annually and for a two-year period with an average of forty artists who receive a monthly advance payment against the total amount stipulated by contract (about 20,000 dinars). After the lapse of the term stipulated by contract, the special commission examines the artists' work and proposes the ones most suitable for purchase. Purchases are also made wherever art shows and exhibitions are held. The artists and sculptors of Serbia organize collective mobile exhibitions every year which are popularly termed the 'Artists' Caravan'. This is a comparatively recent venture, but the initial successes have encouraged the artists to broaden this form of activity by sales promotion and contacts with a wider public. Two and sometimes more caravans are now in operation. A similar scheme has been established in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The amount of 320,000 dinars was made available in 1969 to the commission for the purchase of works of art of the republic secretariat for education and culture of Croatia, consisting of artists and art historians. This sum was increased to 420,000 dinars in 1970, while financial contributions by the institutions concerned have also been introduced. Art sales galleries have also been established in this republic in recent years by the artists themselves (the Forum group in Zagreb, the Studio Lozica in Zagreb and Split, the Art group in Dubrovnik, etc.). Some institutional galleries have also gone over to sales.

Art colonies are another way of stimulating creative activity. Decentralization, which tended to strengthen and activate local cultural ambitions, also favoured their development. Acting in conjunction with the local cultural institutions, the communal assemblies organize such colonies, which provide free board and accommodation to artists. In most cases hospitality is also extended to the artists' families. These colonies are usually established in places of exceptional scenic beauty which are also holiday resorts. Artists repay the hospitality in kind, that is, by a painting or a sculpture. It is thus that several local art galleries have been set up in various parts of the country. Sculptors' symposia and the international organization 'Forma Viva' have also been established on similar lines.

The financing of activities under art association programmes, participation in the expenses of exhibitions and similar events, the financing of cultural exchanges between the republics and the financing of guest performances of Yugoslav artists abroad are other useful forms of assistance to art.

Traditional forms for diffusing culture

Such institutions as cultural centres, workers' and people's universities and concert bureaux are not traditional in chronological terms, but can be considered as such here on the grounds of their organization and methods.

LIBRARIES

In Yugoslavia, libraries have the longest tradition, the first being founded in churches and monasteries at the beginning of the thirteenth century when convents and monasteries were literary centres, with many scribes engaged on chronicles, hagiography and transcriptions. This tradition was interrupted, and resumed only towards the beginning of the nineteenth century in secular libraries. Legislation pertaining to libraries was passed in all Yugoslav republics in 1965 and 1966. Although this was merely a formal act in some cases, marked headway was made in other communities where new forms for the popularization of reading in conformity with growing requirements were introduced: books were transported and made available to readers by special purpose library vans and buses and even by bicycles. New ways and channels were found from the library shelves to the readers, through libraries in work organizations and local communities, and book lending services.

The term library in Yugoslavia primarily denotes a general library. There are two other types: technico-scientific, and school libraries. Although the former serves a limited number of readers, it plays an important role in cultural and scientific activity. The facts and figures for 1960-68 are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1 Scientific and technical libraries in Yugoslavia

Year	Number of libraries	Total number of books	Total number of readers	Number of books read	Book issued by libraries
1960	1 202	10 664 000	2 184 000	3 545 000	1 006 000
1968	1 444	15 353 000	2 976 000	3 871 000	1 662 000

The basic changes can be summed up as follows. The number of books increased substantially (index number 1.5) as did the number of readers (1.36). The index numbers of books read dropped slightly (1.6 in 1960 as compared with 1.3 in 1968). The number of books read outside the libraries (i.e. at home) also increased conspicuously and this might be taken to indicate an improvement in the readers' living and housing standards.

Although the number of school libraries declined appreciably (1,500 less in 1968 than in 1960), the number of books doubled (7 to 14 million). Of the 10,690 school libraries registered in 1968 more than two-thirds (6,840) had a total stock of less than 1,000 books. In spite of the

comparatively large number of these libraries, 37 per cent of elementary and secondary schools still lack library facilities. The rise in educational standards and the spread of education caused a veritable invasion of the general public libraries by younger people—pupils and university students accounting for 65 to 95 per cent of all readers in these libraries.

General public libraries are the most common type. Since the enactment of the law on libraries, their total number was reduced appreciably (3,233 in 1960, 1,895 in 1968) but the number of books increased from 7.5 to 12 million.

The reduction is primarily due to the mergers of smaller libraries with larger ones, a process which resulted in the consolidation of book funds and stocks which had been until recently fragmented and scattered. The changes are illustrated in Table 2.

TABLE 2 Public libraries in Yugoslavia

Year	Number of libraries	Total number of books	Total number of readers	Number of books read	Number of books read at home
1960	3 233	7 460 000	3 564 000	14 480 000	13 386 000
1968	1 895	12 077 000	10 029 000	22 170 000	20 201 000

In spite of the progress noted, library development still lags behind the international average. The Yugoslav average of 0.60 library books *per capita* is more than three times lower than the Central European average (2.25). In 1968 the average *per capita* figures were as follows: Macedonia, 1.00; Slovenia, 0.84; Serbia, 0.65; Croatia, 0.47; Bosnia-Herzegovina, 0.39; Montenegro, 0.38.

Moreover, in Central Europe, a public library book is read four times a year, while the Yugoslav average is not quite twice a year (1.84). The utilization ratio is highest in Croatia and Serbia.

Comparison of library stocks yields a somewhat different picture. The Yugoslav average in 1968 was 1.36 books *per capita* (2.81 books *per capita* in Slovenia). Greatest progress was made in the expansion and development of expert, technical and scientific libraries. In Slovenia, for example, the index numbers of growth of library stocks is 416 as compared with 1939. School libraries are second in terms of growth rate.

Libraries in all republics receive assistance from the funds for the promotion of cultural activity. There is a special library fund in Bosnia-Herzegovina created from part of the Nobel Prize for literature donated by Ivo Andrić, the famous Yugoslav writer, who hails from this republic.

Economic conditions, space and other conditions under which the public libraries operate, availability of trained staff, remuneration, etc., influence library efficiency. Some republics (Serbia, Macedonia) have assigned priority to library modernization in their new medium-term development plans. In some republics (Slovenia, for example) libraries operate under more favourable conditions.

Practical aspects

MUSEUMS

There were 280 museums in Yugoslavia in 1968 or 40 more than in 1960 (see Table 3).

TABLE 3 Number and type of museums, 1960-68

Type of museum	Number of museums	
	1960	1968
Natural science	11	15
Economic and technical	14	15
Socio-historical	71	83
Complex	118	136
Art	26	31
TOTAL	240	280

Historical and general museums are the most numerous. Museum activity has changed considerably during the past decade. Concerts are held in the Slovene Museum in Ljubljana and the National Museum in Belgrade, for example; museums give courses and seminars, hold discussion panels and evenings dedicated to a particular style in art (as in the Museum of Applied Art and Fine Crafts in Zagreb), arrange film shows and lectures illustrated by colour slides, scientific symposia, and so on. Until recently such activities would have been considered incompatible with the character of museums, which were more or less synonymous with remoteness, timelessness and tranquillity.

A Unesco experiment begun twelve years ago, the establishment of a dynamic and 'committed' institution termed 'culture on wheels', by the Gallery of Reproductions of World Masters attached to the Council for Education and Culture of Yugoslavia prompted many museums in the major centres to organize mobile exhibitions which tour the provinces. A marked increase in the popularity of museums has been noted during these years, exchanges with foreign museums (the retrospective exhibitions of Van Gogh, Dürer, the exhibition of masterpieces from the Hermitage Museum of Leningrad in Belgrade, the Rodin exhibition and the retrospective of the sculptor Franée Kršinić in Zagreb) having contributed largely in this direction.

But there is a lot of room for improvement if museums in Yugoslavia are to become modern and dynamic. It is seldom possible to obtain books on art, reproductions and replicas, fine crafts products, etc., in the museums which are still largely left to their own resources. This is especially true of the provincial museums which are hampered by a chronic shortage of funds, their range confined to local items, lacking broad support from a public which has done nothing on its part to encourage initiative.

Practical aspects

On the whole, the popularity of museums is increasing (especially that of the large museums in the principal centres), viz.: number of visitors in 1960, 3 million; in 1968, 5.2 million. The number of museums and public art collections has increased fourfold (18 in 1939, 70 in 1968).

THEATRES

With the aim of increasing and diversifying the chronically inadequate attendance, the professional theatres have resorted to a bold experimental repertoire policy so that current programmes cover a wide range that includes melodrama, classics and avant-garde.

Nevertheless, audience ratings continue to stagnate. The number of television viewers is increasing steadily, while the theatre has failed, for the time being, to find effective ways and means of countering the seemingly irresistible attraction of the video screen. If the same process which has taken place in the more advanced countries with a longer television tradition is repeated in Yugoslavia, interest in the classical theatre will be revived through the new medium. For the time being, however, this is still in the remote future.

There were forty-seven professional theatres in Yugoslavia in 1967-68, or one less than in 1960, the base year of comparison. Capacity remained more or less the same, while performances dropped by 2,000 and audience numbers by one million. Some theatres, such as the National Theatre in Belgrade, are striving to establish closer and stronger ties with work organizations and to attract, by direct arrangements, newcomers to Belgrade, mostly from the countryside, and young members of the working class. This has led to the establishment of the theatre commune, an experiment whose initial results encourage the hope that such already half-forgotten terms, as 'full house' and 'standing room only' will perhaps be revived. Efforts are also being made to attract high school and university students from the provinces through special performances, subscription tickets and theatre excursions which include visits to museums and theatres, contacts and talks with artists and other cultural and educational events.

One organization, Young Music Lovers, has acquired considerable popularity and achieved impressive results by organizing large-scale visits to theatres and other institutions that sometimes seem like a veritable invasion by the young. Apart from its other advantages, it strengthened the awareness on the part of art and cultural institutions of the need for a thorough change of attitude in the public and for a more rapid adjustment on their part to new conditions. Instead of studying audience reactions, their needs and tastes, the budget-financed institutions which had no financial worries were more or less passive, and waited for the public to come of its own accord, meanwhile doing nothing whatsoever to attract it.

Theatre financing exerts the heaviest strain on the funds for the advancement of culture. Theatres are usually the largest item of expenditure

from the republic funds for the activity of cultural and art institutions, and may account for as much as 50 per cent. The comparatively large number of opera houses (there are four opera houses in Croatia alone) also weighed heavily. It is considered by some experts that the stagnation exerts partly because institutionalized forms of theatre are a thing of the past; hence the growing trend towards free and independent theatre companies.

Symptoms of stagnation and even of decline are also noticeable in amateur theatres, whose numbers fell from 125 in 1960 to 115 in 1968), with a parallel reduction in performance and audience figures. Similarly with children's theatres, whose number dropped from twenty-nine to twenty-seven.

PEOPLE'S AND WORKERS'
UNIVERSITIES

These are only partly cultural, their principal concern being educational. None the less, in view of their extent, professional organizations and role as organizers of cultural manifestations, these universities constitute an important factor in the cultural life of many communities; moreover, the dividing line between culture and education is vague, since the universities provide courses for illiterates, vocational and business training, as well as scientific lectures on topical subjects, concerts of symphonic music, and literary evenings.

Their golden age was during the first post-war decade, when their programmes were oriented primarily towards adult education, courses for illiterates, elementary hygiene, practical lectures on modern farming methods and techniques, proper nutrition and elementary domestic science. Industrial progress and the rapidly growing demand for trained manpower had created a need for more specialized training, and the first workers' universities were sponsored by and established on the initiative of the trade unions. They are more modern and better equipped than the peoples' universities, and are now gradually being transformed into extramural educational institutions with special centres for cultural education and cultural activity. Apart from film shows, they organize other cultural events and forms of entertainment, hire pop singers and other performers and act as managers and agents. There is hardly a workers' or people's university in any of the larger towns without its cultural centre. Theatre performances, concerts, art exhibitions, literary evenings, and so on are organized in both types of institution.

Their educational activities have been stagnating or even declining in recent years (in the meantime the responsibility for adult education has been largely assumed by the regular schools), but their role in culture and entertainment has markedly increased.

Practical aspects

CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC SOCIETIES

As statistics are compiled every five years, the latest data are not yet available. Development during the past ten years are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4 Cultural and artistic societies

Year	Number of				
	Societies	Members	Sections	Performances	Visitors
1956-57	3 266	161 700	10 856	39 337	9 878 000
1960-61	2 052	116 700	7 284	25 350	8 474 000
1964-65	1 313	104 100	4 701	18 540	6 900 000

The number of societies, sections and members is thus declining steadily, a trend that will most probably continue. Amateur drama societies, once the most popular of these activities, have been declining from season to season proportionately with the development and growth of television, testifying to the close correlation of the two. The impact of television on amateur music, song and dance troupes was not so strong, however, as indicated in Table 5 which shows a certain improvement.

TABLE 5 Number of performances and visitors at theatres, concerts, and folk and pop concerts

Year	Theatre performances		Concerts		Folk and pop concerts	
	Performances	Visitors	Number	Visitors	Number	Visitors
1956-57	13 600	2 217 000	3 000	744 000	3 900	1 066 000
1960-61	7 600	1 948 000	2 000	795 000	4 000	1 698 000
1964-65	4 500	1 132 000	2 200	1 017 000	4 300	2 250 000

As distinct from amateur theatricals, amateur folk singing and dancing showed a distinct increase in all republics. However, this upward trend should apparently not be attributed to amateur musical activity only but largely to singers who perform and gain popularity through radio and television programmes. Far-reaching qualitative changes seem to have taken place in the functions of the societies, which tend to act as promoters, agents and organizers, while amateurism is on the decline.

Amateurism in the performing arts is gradually disappearing under the impact of radio, television, films, the light magazines and new ways of life. There is a high degree of social mobility and dynamism in Yugoslavia, over half of the population having moved to a new place of living during the past twenty years. Migration from rural areas, in which the traditional cultural forms are dominant, to urban areas account for 80 per cent of these changes. This has resulted in a rapid decline of amateur

activity in the period up to the 1960s when the number of these societies was stabilized at its present level. An appreciable growth and expansion of some forms of amateur activity was noted in the meantime (e.g., discotheques, amateur radio and photography sections, orchestras, pop and beat groups and orchestras). Precise data are not yet available. There are many symptoms which point to a vigorous increase in non-institutional forms of amateur activity in the traditional crafts and handicrafts (such as carpet weaving, pottery, embroidery, woodcarving, weaving, basket-making). Peasant women in western Serbia have been organized into a co-operative called the Dragačevo Weavers, a group of talented needlewomen who make extremely fine handwoven fabrics, knitwear and similar goods which are highly appreciated in the Yugoslav and foreign fashion market. This venture was completely successful both commercially (the total output for the next two years has been sold in advance to foreign buyers) and artistically, convincingly demonstrating that a rebirth of amateurism is possible on a new basis, i.e., by a synthesis of new creative ideas, modern forms of expression and the splendid local traditions and heritage.

PHILHARMONIC AND PROFESSIONAL
ORCHESTRAS

Statistics are taken every four years only. The data cited in Table 6 refer to the period for which statistical figures are available. Orchestras are most numerous in Serbia and Croatia, their common characteristic being that, by 1966-67, the number of concerts had increased threefold. Average audience figures had doubled. The other distinctive feature is the constant increase in the number of guest performances abroad.

TABLE 6 Philharmonic and professional orchestras

Year	Number of orchestras	Number of concerts		Number of visitors	
		At home	Abroad	At home	Abroad
1960-61	37	2 158	141	710 000	330 000
1966-67	36	723	178	558 000	277 000

This rise in 'musical exports' could be considered extremely positive if it were accompanied by a proportionate increase of activity at home. This is not the case, however, and for the time being the necessary elements for a thorough assessment are still lacking. If the recent trends are due to a neglect of musical obligations to the Yugoslav public, the reasons underlying these phenomena require careful scrutiny and analysis.

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FOLK DANCING

There are five professional folk song and dance companies in Yugoslavia. Their primary objective is to present folklore in its authentic and autochthonous form with the minimum of stylization. As indicated by the following survey (Table 7), these companies have succeeded not only in maintaining but in increasing their popularity. As distinct from the philharmonic and other professional orchestras, the folk dancing troupes have increased the number of performances in Yugoslavia, while slightly reducing the number of recitals abroad.

TABLE 7 Folk song and dance troupes

Year	Number of troupes	Number of concerts		Number of visitors	
		At home	Abroad	At home	Abroad
1960-61	4	195	139	228 000	165 000
1966-67	5	357	97	275 000	101 000

ARCHIVES

There are seventy general and several specialized archives in Yugoslavia. All republics and both autonomous provinces have central archives. Lack of space and expert personnel are the main problems at present. Noteworthy progress in the organization and operation of archives was noted in Serbia since the enactment of the Law on Archive Materials and Archive Service (1967), which stipulates the obligatory establishment and operation of archives services. Although the fundamental situation improved appreciably, the total funds allotted are still inadequate.

As compared with the other republics, greatest headway was made in Macedonia. The first historical archives in Macedonia, established in Skopje in 1951, were followed by the establishment of archives in all the larger Macedonian towns. After the abolition of districts, the archives became inter-communal institutions in this republic. The percentage share of the individual communes in their financing is determined by the number of inhabitants and institutions. In Montenegro, apart from the central (republic) archives there is also an archive service in Kotor, the Archives of the Workers' Movement attached to the Historical Research Institute in Titograd and two separate departments of the central archives located in Nikšić and Bijelo Polje respectively. A law on archives was also passed in Slovenia, which has the most efficient archives service, consisting of one central and six regional archives. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, apart from the central archives, there are four others in the larger towns. All these institutions are financed out of the republic budget. The republic law on archives also makes provision for the establishment of inter-communal archives which have not been set up for the time being.

Practical aspects

The initiative for the establishment of joint archives was given by two communes (Travnik and Bihać). Lack of accommodation and trained staff are the most serious problems encountered in this republic as well. Archive services in Croatia are also mandatory. Apart from the central (republic) archives of Croatia there are twelve regional and two special archives. This service is financed jointly by the appropriate communal funds for culture and by the republic fund, particular attention being devoted to the modernization of equipment and the protection of archive materials.

PUBLISHING

The more severe economic criteria, principles and conditions applied during the period of economic reform instituted in 1965 caused severe difficulties in some publishing organizations, particularly the small enterprises specializing in small editions whose organization was not efficient enough.

TABLE 8 Publishing in Yugoslavia, 1961-68

Year	Number of titles	Total circulation	Average circulation	Growth indices	
				Titles	Editions
1961	5 531	33 186 000	6 000	100	100
1963	6 400	45 722 000	7 100	116	138
1965	7 980	59 417 000	7 500	144	179
1968	9 856	67 654 000	6 800	178	204

An increase in the number of titles and circulation (editions) has been noted only in the case of fiction, with a net decline in all other branches (scientific, technical and popular scientific literature). Furthermore, it is not serious works that produced the increase mentioned, but crime fiction and similar literature, whose circulation increased fivefold (1.8 million in 1961, 10 million in 1968). The paradoxical phenomenon that sales of cheap paperback crime fiction and the most expensive editions (cloth-bound collected works) are highest has been noted in the Serbo-Croatian language area (15 million inhabitants). Certain facilities (e.g. loans on favourable repayment terms) formerly enjoyed by publishers have been abolished by the reform. Apart from other difficulties, printing expenses, authors' royalties and paper prices increased appreciably. Small editions and inefficient organization were all heavily hit by the reform, which emphasized 'sound and efficient business operation and practices'.

On the other hand, the big, modern and efficiently run publishing organizations are operating successfully under the new conditions. 'Mladinske Knjige' of Ljubljana, for example, succeeded in developing intensive business relations with publishers in Belgrade, Zagreb and in other republics and with foreign firms. Extensive modernization schemes were carried out, and the printing works are now equipped with the most up-to-

date machines which ensure highest quality and efficiency. This trend is most conspicuous in Slovenia, in which the Central European average of publishing output, four books *per capita*, was achieved in 1967 (actually an average of 4.2 books *per capita* were published in Slovenia that year, the all-Yugoslav average being three).

The encyclopaedic and similar editions put out by the Yugoslav Lexicographic Institute in Zagreb represent major ventures. The exceptionally fine quality of these editions has enabled the institute to obtain commercial results even under less favourable conditions of activity. The republic funds for the promotion of cultural activity have a corrective function of a broader national and cultural significance only and make advance purchases of part of the output for libraries. The proposed institution of the 'domaine public payant' should also be given a similar corrective function.

Sales difficulties are a major problem. Bookselling requires co-ordinated action, integration of publishing enterprises, and new and more effective advertising and distribution. The reform is exerting substantial pressure in that direction but progress towards the integration of publishing and bookselling is still slow and inadequate.

Periodicals figure prominently in publishing generally. Thus, for example, 288 of the total 1,006 periodicals published in 1969 were 'cultural' (if religious periodicals, of which there were 54 in 1969, are added, the total amounts to 342). The breakdown is as follows: 48 literary, 48 educational, 42 social problems, 20 philological, 19 film and art photography, 17 art in general, 16 young readers, 14 historical, 13 theatre arts, 6 musicology and music, 6 visual arts, etc. Total circulation is 5.1 million copies (5.5 million including religious periodicals). Most periodicals deal with a wide range of problems and are intended for a broad circle of readers, while a smaller number are more exclusive with a limited circulation (not more than 2,000 copies); the majority are literary and are considered to perform an important cultural function, as in a certain sense they represent a 'creative laboratory'. They also afford an opportunity for young writers to publish and thus put their writings to the test (all younger writers and artists receive encouragement and support from these reviews).

The development of self-managerial relations resulted in a marked growth of interest in social problems and in the social aspect of culture. The periodicals have increasingly assumed the role of discussion platform, thus affording ample opportunity for the confrontation of views and the thorough examination of problems. Many cultural workers, artists and intellectuals took part in 1969 in the exchange of views on specific questions of current interest. The renewed interests in periodicals refutes the fairly widespread view in Yugoslavia that as the mass media become more advanced, dynamic and direct, cultural reviews become an anachronism.

New forms of diffusion

This section includes sound and television broadcasting, motion picture production, the protection and preservation of cultural monuments and objects of art, and nature conservation. It may seem odd at first sight to include the latter two. Admittedly, the protection and preservation of cultural monuments and nature are comparatively newcomers as public cultural services; their methods are neither new nor traditional but usually indirect, the actual diffusion of culture being only a secondary objective where they are concerned. However, the range of these services in Yugoslavia has been broadened appreciably during the past few years, and their activity and responsibilities are no longer limited to the mere conservation of historical and cultural monuments and nature and to the effective organization of protection, but also include the 'cultural activation' of localities of historic interest, scenic wonders and national parks, as well as environmental planning. The construction of access roads and auxiliary projects for tourists, the production of handbooks, reference literature, reproductions of works of art, colour slides, replicas, and so on are only indirectly related to conservation and protection.

RADIO

Certain symptoms in recent years indicate that the saturation point for purchases of radio sets has been reached. The rapid and sustained increase in the number of radio subscribers during the 1960s indicated that the turn of the rural areas had come, and they accounted for 70 to 80 per cent of new subscribers in that period (see Table 9). With the exception of the remoter mountain and less developed areas, radio subscription figures are currently stagnating in rural areas too.

TABLE 9 Radio in Yugoslavia

Year	Number of subscribers	Number of radio stations	Installed power (in kW)	Duration of programmes (hours on the air)		
				Total	Music	Talk
1960	1 428 000	19	1 106	97 900	62 900	35 000
1968	3 171 000	94	3 312	143 000	89 000	54 000

There was one radio for every two households in Yugoslavia in 1968. Averages per household: 1 : 1 in Slovenia, 1 : 1.6 in Vojvodina, 1 : 1.7 in Croatia, 1 : 2.1 in Serbia, etc. There were 3,311,491 radio sets (not including transistors) on 31 March 1970. According to current estimates there were approximately 4,200,000 radios and over 500,000 transistors in 1969 (notably more than the total number of households and probably, than the number of subscribers). Many families own more than one radio

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while, as indicated by market statistics, sales of transistors and car radios (which are usually not registered) have increased considerably.

The central (republic) stations in 1968 broadcast sixteen independent programmes daily. Three programmes daily were broadcast by Radio Belgrade, Radio Zagreb and Radio Novi Sad, while Radio Ljubljana and Radio Skopje broadcast two a day. Radio Belgrade also broadcasts a foreign language programme every day in nine languages.

The first programme is of a general character in all republics. The second programme on Radio Novi Sad is in Serbo-Croatian while the first is in the languages of the nationalities living in Vojvodine. The second is always lighter and more entertaining than the first. The third programme is more serious and caters for more academically educated and intellectual tastes. All republic stations have programme research services which study radio developments, conduct opinion polls, analyse programmes and audience reactions, and so on. In most cases this service works for both the radio and the television programmes.

The number of radio stations increased conspicuously in recent years (75 in 1967, 107 in 1969). The sharpest increases were in Croatia (29 to 47) and Serbia (6 to 14). These stations broadcast a local programme 1 to 4 hours daily. The number of local stations will probably double between 1970 and 1975.

TELEVISION

A total of 6,000 television sets were registered in Yugoslavia in 1958. Ten years later there were over one million (1,298,500). By 1 December 1969, the number had increase by another 250,000 bringing the total to 1,542,662. In 1968, 73 per cent of Yugoslav territory was covered, and 86 per cent of the population was able to follow the programme. This means that the progress made is remarkable and all the more so as Yugoslavia is a predominantly mountainous country whose configuration requires an extensive and costly network of relay stations.

TABLE 10 Television in Yugoslavia

Year	Number of studios	Number of subscribers	Installed power (in kW)	Length of programmes (in hours)		
				Total	Yugoslav	Foreign
1960	3	29 800	8	1 524	924	600
1968	5	1 298 500	1 549	5 969	5 710	250

There was one set per 4.3 households in 1968. (The average was 1 : 3 in Slovenia, 1 : 3.8 in Croatia, 1 : 3.9 in Macedonia, 1 : 4.4 in Serbia, etc.) There were 1,623,952 sets on 31 March 1970, or approximately one set per three families. This strong upward trend is expected to continue.

Programmes are prepared in six studios—Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Skopje, Sarajevo and Titograd. As production exceeds the present broadcasting capacity, a second channel is scheduled for 1970. Studios have developed co-operation and exchanges to a considerable degree, so that all viewers can see a selection of the best items from the other republics. Preparations are being made for the introduction of colour television.

The programme pattern in 1968 for all studios was as follows: (1) subjects of current interest, 1,004 hours; (2) quiz programmes, pop music and light entertainment, 968; (3) children's programmes, 815; (4) newscasts, telecasts of political and other events, 754; (5) film shows, 637; (6) sports, 305; (7) television plays, film reviews and commentaries, camera theatre, 199; (8) serious music, opera and ballet, 156. Serious music and opera accounted for only 2.5 per cent, their relative share in the radio programme for the same year being 17.5 per cent.

Television is often accused of being unduly inclined to pander to popular taste and neglect the serious programmes. Those responsible answer that the audiences are extremely heterogenous and make exactly the opposite complaint, namely, that programmes are still too 'highbrow'. The introduction of a second and third programme which would be different in conception and would enable viewers to choose according to their tastes, interests and propensities affords the only effective solution. This is wholly acceptable to cultural workers and artists because it is considered that television should serve to raise cultural tastes, needs and standards and not merely satisfy the existing ones. The critics maintain that television could do much more for the dissemination, promotion and propagation of culture and education. As the programmes they want are relatively few, it is assumed that they are cut out to make place for light programmes and entertainments. There are extremely fine theatre performances and other important cultural events which are not shown on television, even though this is part of its cultural mission. This objection is countered by the argument that everyone—from soccer players to opera singers—demand substantial fees, and that television, committed to very heavy investment projects, is not in a position to pay high prices for transmission rights. If television is to be considered a public cultural service, part of the responsibilities should be assumed by the other side, that is the cultural institutions, the budget institutions and the social community as a whole.

The current differences of opinion between television—which became an extremely important cultural factor within less than a decade—and cultural workers, are not confined to programmes only but also concern fees and royalties paid to performers and artists, writers and others, the autonomous rights of external associates, and other problems.

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MOTION PICTURE PRODUCTION AND CINEMAS

One Academy Award (Oscar) conferred upon the Zagreb School of Animated Cartoons and its founder, director Dusan Vukotić, the numerous prizes awarded to Yugoslav documentaries at international film festivals and the success of some feature films indicate that the Yugoslav cinema has long since got beyond the pioneer stage and entered the arena of international competition on terms of equality. This is also borne out by the commercial results. A total of 447 films were exported to over 40 countries, and 1,513 licences were sold in the 1964-68 period (or twice the figure for the preceding ten years). The number of films made in co-production with foreign partners likewise doubled.

TABLE 11 Motion picture production

Year	Enterprises	Feature films	Documentary and short films	Number exported	Licences sold
1960	6	16	238	67	—
1964	13	21	258	90	310
1968	19	37	264	85	361

The number of producers has trebled, thanks to the policy of enabling independent groups of film makers to apply for financial assistance in the republic funds for culture. This produced three positive effects: the number of films made increased 2.5 times, production costs of feature films dropped appreciably, and artistic standards improved conspicuously. This policy of economic and cultural liberalization resulted in the transfer, to the producers, of responsibility for the quality of films and their social and aesthetic value. It has also allowed a group of young directors to win recognition both at home and abroad. Some have been accused of being obsessed with the dark side of life and the objection is often heard that their films cater to the tastes of a small exclusive intellectual elite.

Film audiences declined appreciably. In 1968, as compared with 1967, the number of cinemas dropped by 57, seats by 14,000, shows by 3,000 and attendance by 4.6 million. Some blame the films, others believe that this decline is due to the growing popularity of television. Most probably, a combination of various factors is responsible.

TABLE 12 The cinema in Yugoslavia

Year	Cinemas	Seats	Shows	Visitors	Foreign film shows
1960	1 588	528 400	546 600	130 124 000	725
1964	1 675	553 900	571 900	123 143 000	1 105
1967	1 765	567 900	586 700	104 896 000	978
1968	1 708	553 300	583 900	100 166 000	1 166

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Apart from television, the most important medium for film shows in the country (three full length films every week), this decline is also due to comparatively high ticket prices in cities (the largest cinema audiences are in the big urban centres). The quality of films is another contributory factor. The structure of cinema audiences is fairly lopsided—70 per cent are city dwellers (mostly from the larger towns) who do not account for more than 15 per cent of the total Yugoslav population. There are distinct prospects for the expansion of the home market by the introduction of mobile cinemas and other arrangements. The distributors, however, are seeking an answer to the problem primarily by increasing ticket prices. An attempt, made in Croatia, to improve the position of cinemas and to check the decline in audience numbers yielded favourable initial results. The tax levied on cinemas was reduced and this had a favourable effect on attendance figures. So-called motion picture theatres were established in Slovenia (in Maribor, Ljubljana and Kopar) in which only films of a high artistic standard are shown. This experiment has also been highly successful, as attendance at these screenings markedly exceeds the Yugoslav average.

Sixteen millimetre films and film archives have not been included in this brief survey. Production of 16 mm films has been doubled during the past decade and the role of film archives increased proportionately. Many amateur film clubs (children's amateur film clubs have also appeared during the past few years) and the Yugoslav Central Film Archives in Belgrade play an important part in the popularization of the seventh art.

PROTECTION OF CULTURAL MONUMENTS

The registration, recording and protection of the cultural heritage has been entrusted to specialized institutions—the Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments—which have been established in all republics with identical tasks and internal organization. The central republic institutes co-ordinate the activities of the local and intercommunal institutes. Laws on the protection of cultural monuments have been adopted in all republics. Two main groups of tasks have been defined by law in Serbia: (a) basic tasks and responsibilities: record keeping, evaluation, supervision of the condition and state of monuments, registration of monuments, the planning of work, determination of protective measures, the issuing of expert instructions for the maintenance of these monuments, training and upgrading of expert staff, supervision of work on the monuments; and (b) conservation, restoration and presentation of certain cultural monuments, research, the preparation of documentation and projects, organization and implementation of work, etc.

We shall illustrate the problems of protection which are common to all republics by the example of Serbia. Not all the major monuments have

been placed under protection, partly for lack of funds, partly because of inadequate equipment and lack of experts. The large number and variety of cultural monuments and the need for extensive and costly restoration and similar projects constitute another difficulty. In addition, the major cultural monuments in Serbia are most often located in the underdeveloped areas, and this is why the share of communes in the financing of these activities is, in the main, negligible. Tourist and economic organizations are also considered to have contributed insufficiently to the financing of protection projects so far. This is why the previous plans of this service calling for the protection of rural architecture, the creation of an ethnological park, and for extensive work on the major archaeological sites have not been fulfilled.

Emphasis is also laid on the same problems in the report of the republic Secretariat for Education and Culture of Croatia. It points out that many monuments are in very bad condition and require urgent repair, the funds available are inadequate and experts are lacking. The protection service has a long-standing tradition in this republic, the first institutions of this kind having been founded in the middle of the nineteenth century (in Split, for example). It consists today of a network of institutes with one central institute in Zagreb, four regional institutes (in Osijek, Rijeka, Split and Zagreb) and three at communal level (in Dubrovnik, Split and Zadar). Apart from conservation workshops, expert and highly skilled work is also done by the Restoration Institute of Croatia.

An interesting attempt to include the protection of cultural monuments in tourist development has been made in Montenegro. Provision has also been made for the protection of cultural monuments by the Southern Adriatic Tourist Project which is now being carried out and covers the southern part of Montenegro. This project should afford ample scope for co-operation in environmental planning to town planners and developers and conservationists. As a corollary of rapid urbanization, lively discussions are in progress in all republics between town planners and conservationists who are seeking solutions for their conflicting long- and short-term interests. Town planners and developers look for practical solutions, while the conservationists are striving for protection and the provision of favoured treatment for cultural monuments.

THE CONSERVATION OF NATURE

While in Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Montenegro the conservation of nature is organized as a separate service, in other republics (Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia) it operates as a part of the service for the protection of cultural monuments. The primary task of this service is to take care of natural environments of exceptional scenic beauty or those of a particular scientific, historic or cultural interest for the community. Many problems are involved in the rational use and conservation of natural

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sources (the control of air, water and soil pollution, etc.). The most acute problems are the shortage of experts (only three in the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example) and lack of funds.

Personnel training

The requirements in expert staff of cultural and art institutions are satisfied by specialized schools and courses in Yugoslavia. If expert training required cannot be obtained in the country, scholarships are provided for specialization and advanced training abroad.

TECHNICAL AND HIGHER SCHOOLS

Theatres, film production enterprises, radio and television centres employ graduates from the academies for the theatre, film, radio and television in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. A drama studio was founded in Sarajevo three years ago. All of its first graduates are working in theatres throughout this republic. The National Theatre in Sarajevo also has a ballet studio. Art historians and other experts graduated from arts and humanities faculties or one of the art academies are employed by the museums and art galleries.

Music institutions and the radio and television musical programmes engage graduates from the intermediate music schools or the academies of music (also in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana).

A study of the composition of personnel in cultural and art institutions in Serbia indicates that three-fourths of the graduates of one of the art academies enter the teaching profession. A lesser number are employed in cultural institutions. This is not only because the requirements of the broadened school network for this type of expert have increased, but also because the teaching profession affords greater security and comparatively better working and living conditions. And yet the schools in Serbia are in need of approximately 1,500 art teachers and about 800 music teachers.

Candidates without art education at secondary level may enrol in art academies (except in academies of music where only graduates from intermediate music schools are eligible). Graduates from schools of industrial design in Belgrade or secondary schools of applied art in Zagreb and Split enjoy priority with regard to enrolment in the Academy of Applied Art. A department for design was established at the Art Academy in Zagreb in 1960. Enrolment in all academies is by public competition. An average of twenty to sixty candidates enrolled yearly in the Belgrade art academies during the past decade.

There is an evident disparity between the number of secondary and higher schools. The secondary technical and vocational schools which provide training in cultural and art professions are relatively few. Apart from the School for Industrial Design in Belgrade, the schools for applied

art in Zagreb and Split, the Intermediate Librarians School in Belgrade and the schools of graphic design in some republic centres, there are no others (except for some music schools). Candidates have to rely instead on specialized courses: one-year courses in archive administration, arranged by the Central Archives of Serbia; courses for cameramen and set designers, by the Film Institute in Belgrade; courses at the central museums in the republics, the central libraries and institutes for the protection of cultural monuments. Post-graduate studies in conservation and urban development have been organized at Zagreb University, which also has courses in librarianship, records, documentation and information media. Librarianship courses are available at the Pedagogical Academy in Ljubljana and Sarajevo, diploma courses in book and magazine publishing at the Pedagogical Academy in Ljubljana.

STAFF FOR MASS CULTURAL WORK

The needs for organizers, promoters, managers, planners, programmers, publicity agents, public relations experts for cultural activities have increased sharply in recent years. The Academy for Theatre, Film, Radio and Television in Belgrade has an Organization Section in which five or six candidates are enrolled annually (far short of actual needs). The Mosa Pijade Workers' University in Zagreb has a one-year course for organizers and promoters of cultural activity in work organizations, for secretaries of communal funds for culture, for managerial and expert staff in culture clubs and centres, and in workers' and people's universities. This scheme is extremely interesting. The programme covers the sociology of culture and art and the sociology of leisure, cultural policy, the methods and techniques used in the organization of didactic, propaganda and promotion activities and events, the methodology of the study of cultural activities and requirements of work organizations and local communities, the economic principles and financing of cultural activity, the study of the forms, content and methods of information and propagation of cultural activity. In 1968, this course was attended by twenty-four candidates, all with higher education and several years' experience.

The students visit the major cultural centres and become directly acquainted with the problems and experiences of the individual cultural institutions. A proposal has been made to prolong this course to two years and raise it to diploma level. Similar, less specialized and shorter courses are organized by the Djuro Salaj Workers' University in Belgrade and the workers' universities in Sarajevo, Ljubljana and other centres.

Courses for chorus leaders and section managers in amateur societies and for directors of culture clubs are also organized intermittently by the cultural educational communities and by the associations of workers' and people's universities. Similar courses are also organized, as the need arises, by individual institutions (in radio and television centres, for sound

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operators, stage managers, video mixers; in institutes for the protection of cultural monuments, for conservation experts and so on). Specialized training abroad is a fairly common form of advanced professional training. The period of specialization is usually brief (one to three months), except for some one-year fellowships and scholarships offered by foreign governments; fifty-three cultural workers and artists in Serbia benefited by these scholarships in 1964, 1965 and 1966. Theatre workers were the most numerous (thirteen), followed by custodians and conservation experts (twelve), writers (ten), etc.

PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS

Complete data for all republics are lacking, but it may reasonably be assumed that the situation is similar to that in Serbia where, according to the survey prepared by the Institute for the Study of Cultural Development, requirements are heaviest in the library and archive services, culture clubs, protection of cultural monuments and conservation of nature. The archive service is experiencing a serious shortage in conservators and processors. A course for conservators was established by the Academy for Applied Art in Belgrade, while Zagreb University provides post-graduate, i.e. advanced, training in conservation and urban development. In view of the new training opportunities opened, it is expected that the shortage of conservation experts will significantly lessen during the next few years. The sustained and rapid tourist growth and the concurrent growth of interest in cultural and historic landmarks and sites has caused a serious shortage of publicity agents and expert guides.

Experts in the conservation of nature are trained at the Forestry and Natural Science faculties (biology departments); a special department has been established in Belgrade. The first graduates will join the service in the near future. The establishment of game reserves, national parks and other nature conservation large-scale projects and schemes has greatly increased the demand for such staff.

ECONOMIC STATUS OF CULTURAL WORKERS

This brief survey of various forms of personnel training and preparation for cultural and art employment provides a general idea of the productive capacity and variety of experts and shows one aspect of the matter. But many graduates never reach cultural and art institutions. For various reasons, university trained experts urgently needed in culture tend to opt for other and more lucrative professions. Some of these factors were analysed in detail in the survey referred to above, according to which, low income levels are the principal deterrent. A construction engineer

employed by an institute for the protection of cultural monuments, for example, on the average earns 40-50 per cent less than a colleague in industry. As cultural institutions, almost without exception, are non-profit making and have limited common welfare funds, a civil engineer working in an institute for the protection of cultural monuments will also have less chance of obtaining a flat, receive much less in vacation travel allowances, and so on. Hence, all who can do so leave culture and take up jobs in industry, administration and tourism. In the 1960-65 period, 50 per cent of experts employed in workers' and people's universities switched to other professions.

This also explains the conspicuous disparities in the geographical distribution of expert personnel. In Serbia, four-fifths of all members of the art associations, 57 per cent of all university-educated inhabitants and three-fourths of all university and college educated experts employed in culture live in Belgrade. The basic reasons are the less favourable economic conditions in the provinces. There are two kinds of migration—one from culture to more remunerative sectors, the other from the interior to the capital. This is at variance with the planned objective of de-provincializing cultural life in the interior. Attempts have been made during the past few years to change this state of affairs and to improve the material condition of cultural workers, e.g., the Fund for the Promotion of Cultural Activities in Croatia made supplementary funds available for the employment of twenty-six new experts of various types in cultural institutions.

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